

JOURNAL OF EDUCATION

Founded in 1875

Volume 193 • Number 1 • 2013

EARLY CAREER SCHOLARS

Letter from the Editor

Roselmina Indrisano

The Effects of Grammatical Complexity on Children's Comprehension, Recall, and Conception of Certain Semantic Relations (Reprint)

P. David Pearson

Revisiting the Role of Explicit Genre Instruction in the Classroom

Katherine K. Frankel

Reflections on Becoming a Researcher

Katherine K. Frankel and P. David Pearson

"But They Won't Let You Read!": A Case Study of an Urban Middle School Male's Response to School Reading

Grace Enriquez

Fostering Social and Cultural Capital in Urban Youth: A Programmatic Approach to Promoting College Success

Amanda K. Sommerfeld and Paul Bowen

Math Coaching in a Rural School: Gaining Entry: A Vital First Step

Sara Hartman

ESSAY BOOK REVIEWS

Academic/Professional Text

Mary Elizabeth Matthews

Books for Young Readers

Michelle Carney and Storey Mecoli

Marygrove College Library
8425 West McNichols Road
Detroit, MI 48221



JOURNAL OF EDUCATION

Founded in 1875

Volume 193 • Number 1 • 2013

Roselmina Indrisano, Editor

Lynne Larson, Managing Editor

Editorial Assistants

Michelle Carney

Bernard Luger III

Mary Elizabeth Matthews

Storey Mecoli

Faculty Advisers

Donna Lehr

Jeanne R. Paratore

Scott Seider

Boston University School of Education

Editorial Policy

The Journal of Education (ISBN:0022-0574), a refereed journal, is published three times a year. The purpose of the *Journal* is to disseminate knowledge in the service of practice. Researchers, scholars, teachers, administrators, specialists, and advanced graduate students are invited to submit manuscripts. Three types of articles will be considered: reports of original research, explications of theory, or reflections on education. All articles must include a discussion of implications for practice in an educational setting.

The Guidelines for Authors are on the last page.

No material from the *Journal of Education* may be reprinted without the permission of the Trustees of Boston University.

Information regarding print and online subscriptions and orders for single copies will be found on the *Journal of Education* website:
<http://www.bu.edu/journalofeducation/>

Copyright © 2013 by the Trustees of Boston University. All rights reserved.

In Memoriam

This issue of the *Journal of Education*, that features the work of early career scholars, is dedicated to

LU Lingzi

as we respectfully join her family in the hope that her memory will endure as an inspiration to other young scholars.



*"While her dream has not been realized, we want to encourage others who have Lingzi's ambition and dreams,
and want to make the world a better place, to continue moving forward."*

*"We hope that everyone who knew Lingzi, and experienced the positive spirit and joy she had, will help carry on her spirit.
We hope that everyone who has now heard about Lingzi will keep a memory of her in their hearts."*

BU Today, "Letter from the Family of LU Lingzi," April 19, 2013

JOURNAL OF EDUCATION

VOLUME 193, NUMBER 1, 2013

Early Career Scholars

Letter from the Editor Roselmina Indrisano	vii
The Effects of Grammatical Complexity on Children's Comprehension, Recall, and Conception of Certain Semantic Relations (Reprint) P. David Pearson	1
Revisiting the Role of Explicit Genre Instruction in the Classroom Katherine K. Frankel	17
Reflections on Becoming a Researcher Katherine K. Frankel and P. David Pearson	31
<i>"But They Won't Let You Read!": A Case Study of an Urban Middle School Male's Response to School Reading</i> Grace Enriquez	35
Fostering Social and Cultural Capital in Urban Youth: A Programmatic Approach to Promoting College Success Amanda K. Sommerfeld and Paul Bowen	47
Math Coaching in a Rural School: Gaining Entry: A Vital First Step Sara Hartman	57
ESSAY BOOK REVIEWS	
ACADEMIC/PROFESSIONAL TEXT Mary Elizabeth Matthews	69
BOOKS FOR YOUNG READERS Michelle Carney and Storey Mecoli	73

Letter from the Editor

ROSELMINA INDRISANO, BOSTON UNIVERSITY

In what has become an annual theme, this issue of the *Journal of Education* presents the work of early career scholars, this time with a new feature, a reprint of an article published during the early career of a scholar who is now a distinguished leader in his field. In 1974–1975, P. David Pearson introduced an entirely new concept to the decades-long study of text complexity, a topic that has returned to prominence with the adoption of the 2010 *Common Core State Standards*. If we accept the traditional definition of a classic as a timeless creation, Professor Pearson's work is worthy of this honor. The article that follows also focuses on text, written decades later by Katherine K. Frankel, an early career scholar who presents an historical analysis of the ways a dialogue on the teaching of genre, generated by theorists and practitioners across time and place, has informed literacy instruction. She concludes with implications for contemporary classroom practice, particularly for students who have been underserved. These pieces are followed by a reflection by both authors in the form of a "conversation" between an advanced doctoral student and a senior scholar. The thoughts offered by Katherine K. Frankel and P. David Pearson will inspire both early career scholars and the senior scholars who are their mentors.

In the case study that follows, Grace Enriquez invites us into the world of a young African American male. Here Derrick persists in his deep dedication to reading in all its complexities. We hear his voice and the voices of his teachers as they try to reconcile Derrick's perspective with their own, amid the varied challenges that confront teachers and learners in the quest for understanding and success in contemporary urban schooling.

Amanda K. Sommerfeld and Paul Bowen describe their efforts to guide promising students on the path to higher education. Their approach, the Trinity Education for Excellence Program, has been successful in helping urban youth to develop social and cultural capital, and promoting college enrollment and completion through values-based instruction. Their findings inform efforts conducted in other contexts, including homes, schools, and community youth organizations.

The final article, written by Sara Hartman, offers a rare opportunity to gain insights into rural education that derive from a case study of an academic coach as she attempted to gain entry to

classrooms in order to observe and guide mathematics instruction. The findings of this research center on both unique and common influential factors: the power of insider status; the importance of coach identity, mutual trust, and staff connections; and the challenge of teacher resistance the coach strived to overcome.

Given the theme of the issue, this letter returns to a reflection on becoming a researcher written by Katherine K. Frankel, an early career scholar, and P. David Pearson, her mentor. Nearing the end of their "conversation," the early career scholar comments,

We are all emerging and emergent literacy learners. The emergent principle applies equally well to research . . . One never knows so little that she doesn't have something to contribute to a scholarly project, nor so much that she doesn't have more to learn. (p. 33)

This concept of the constancy of "emerging and emergent" learning is later joined to another significant insight that speaks to both emerging and emergent scholars.

. . . as I engage in this coauthoring endeavor with David, I wonder if the ability to see things in new ways is more a *stance* than a *phase*. As a "mature" scholar, David continues to challenge himself, his students, and the field of education as a whole to embrace new ideas, practices, and points of view. (p. 33)

The evidence suggests that teachers and learners at many stages of development have been the beneficiaries of P. David Pearson's lifelong stance as an emergent scholar and offers a worthy model for the early career scholar and for those at later stages of life's trajectory.

Later in this issue, there is a call for papers for the next Early Career Scholars issue that will be published in the spring of 2014. We invite early career scholars to submit their manuscripts as we continue our practice of honoring the work of scholars who are "emerging and emergent."

I close this letter with a respectful tribute to the memory of LU Lingzi, a Boston University early career scholar, to whom we dedicate this issue of the *Journal of Education*.

The Effects of Grammatical Complexity on Children's Comprehension, Recall, and Conception of Certain Semantic Relations (Reprint)

P. DAVID PEARSON, UNIVERSITY OF MINNESOTA

ABSTRACT

This study was designed 1) to provide an assessment of linguistic variables which affect the way in which children process verbal data when they read, and 2) to evaluate certain explicit and implicit claims emerging from research and opinion in the areas of readability analysis and psycholinguistics. A repeated measurement design for high and average achieving third and fourth graders yielded data which indicate that grammatical complexity is often an aid to comprehension and recall rather than a hindrance. The results are discussed in light of the implications they provide for writing children's reading material, further readability analysis, and developing models of performance for language users.

Effets des complexités grammaticales sur la compréhension chez les enfants, leur rappel à la mémoire et leur conception de certaines relations sémantiques

Cette étude a été conçue afin de suppléer une évaluation des variables linguistiques qui influent sur la manière dont les enfants assimilent les éléments verbaux. D'autre part, l'étude voudrait évaluer certaines affirmations issues des recherches et des opinions dans les domaines de l'analyse de la lisibilité des textes, et de la psycholinguistique. Des expériences répétées de mesurage, destinées à des écoliers de haut et de moyen accomplissement des 3^{ème} et 4^{ème} années de l'école élémentaire, ont produit des résultats qui suggèrent que la complexité grammaticale peut souvent aider plutôt que l'enfreindre la compréhension et le rappel à la mémoire. On discute ces résultats en vue de la portée qu'ils pourraient avoir sur la composition des lectures pour les enfants, sur l'analyse de la lisibilité des textes et sur le développement de modèles de performance dans l'emploi de la langue.

Efectos de la complejidad gramatical en la habilidad de los niños para recordar su comprensión y conceptualizar ciertas relaciones semánticas

El presente estudio ha sido diseñado 1) para proporcionar una estimación de las variables lingüísticas que afectan el modo en que los niños procesan los datos verbales en la lectura, y 2) para evaluar ciertas aseveraciones explícitas e implícitas, surgidas de la investigación y opinión en las áreas del análisis de amenidad en la lectura y de la psicolingüística. Un diseño de medición

repetida para alumnos de tercer y cuarto grado, de mediano y alto rendimiento, proporcionó información que indica que la complejidad gramatical, más que un obstáculo, frecuentemente es una ayuda para su comprensión y recuerdo. Los resultados se discuten a la luz de las implicancias que ellos proveen para escribir material de lectura para niños, promover análisis de amenidad en la lectura, y desarrollar modelos de actuación para aquellos que utilizan idiomas.

This study consists of 3 separate experiments, 2 of which have several parts. Experiment 1 examined, through the use of wh-type questions, the effects of syntactic complexity on children's comprehension of causal relations and of modifying (adjective-noun) relations. Experiments 2 and 3 were conducted subsequent to Experiment 1 in order to shed some light on some of the ambiguous results emanating from Experiment 1.

Experiment 2 examined children's preferences among several syntactically different ways of expressing a common idea. Children were given a question to answer, followed by a set of statements, each of which contained the answer to the question. They were asked to rank the statements according to the degree of helpfulness each provided in answering the question.

Experiment 3 examined differences between the syntactic form in which statements were read by subjects and the syntactic form in which the same statements were later recalled.

PURPOSE OF THE STUDY

Considering the 3 experiments as a group, this study was designed to provide an assessment of linguistic variables which might conceivably affect the way in which children comprehend verbal data when they read. It was simultaneously designed to investigate certain explicit claims and implicit assumptions emerging from research and theoretical positions in the field of transformational-generative grammar.

THEORETICAL POSITIONS UNDER CONSIDERATION

Three theoretical positions are considered as possible candidates in explaining the data obtained in this study as well as that in related studies.

From: *Reading Research Quarterly*, Volume 10, Number 2, pp. 155-192. Copyright © 1974-1975 by the International Reading Association. Reproduced with permission of John Wiley & Sons, Inc.

The first theoretical position is referred to as the *readability hypothesis* because it emanates from assumptions and conclusions stemming from readability research. Broadly speaking, this hypothesis claims that sentence length and sentence complexity contribute to comprehension difficulty.

The second theoretical position is the *deep structure model*. It arises from psycholinguistic research which has been based upon transformational-generative grammars (e.g., Miller and McKean, 1964; Mehler, 1963). It attempts to establish correlates between operations used in transformational-generative grammar and operations used by people in processing verbal data. In short, it attempts to use a grammatical model as a psychological model. The relevant claim of such a model, as it relates to the 3 experiments in this study, is that as surface structure form (the way we see and hear language) approaches deep structure form (the state in which we consciously or unconsciously process and understand language in the mind), comprehension is facilitated. This facilitation occurs because the listener or reader must undergo fewer operations (transformations) in order to analyze, or break down, the surface structure form into deep structure form.

The third theoretical position is referred to as the *chunk model*. It is called the chunk model because it claims that comprehension consists of synthesizing atomistic propositions into larger conceptual or semantic units rather than analyzing complex units into atomistic propositions. If the surface form of a statement is already highly synthesized, comprehension is facilitated. If, on the other hand, the surface form is broken down somewhat (is closer to its deep structure form), comprehension is impeded.

The chunk model and the deep structure model represent diametrically opposed theoretical positions. That which the chunk model predicts will be difficult, the deep structure model predicts will be simple, and vice-versa. The readability hypothesis represents a theoretical position near, but not identical to, the deep structure model. As will be explicated later, sentence length and grammatical complexity tend to co-vary with transformational complexity. That is, longer sentences and sentences with more subordinate clauses and phrases also tend to have more transformations.

DISCUSSION OF RELATED READABILITY RESEARCH

Classic Readability Procedures

Since the readability hypothesis is one of the 3 theoretical positions tested by the data from this study, it is useful to review the procedures used to construct a readability formula.

The classic mode for constructing a readability formula includes these steps:

1. A series of passages known to be graded with respect to difficulty is selected. The basis for grading the passages is usually the number of correct responses made by students judged to have the ability to read at various grade levels to a variety of multiple choice comprehension items accompanying the passages. However, more recently cloze test procedures have been used (e.g., Bormuth, 1966).
2. All potential factors in the passages which might prove to be predictive of passage difficulty are enumerated. They may be formal factors: the number of words per sentence, the number of subordinate clauses, the number of prepositional phrases. Or they may be conceptual factors: the number of words with concrete referents, the number of "vivid" words, the number of abstract words. Usually formula writers have resorted to formal factors because they can be more reliably and objectively measured. Also, since they appear at the surface level, they do not require expert judgment concerning their occurrence. Gray and Leary (1935), who performed the "classic" study in this mode, began with 82 potential formal factors when they set out to develop a formula. They concluded that 44 of the factors were significantly related to reading difficulty. Bormuth (1966), in a more recent attempt, found over 60 formal (or structural) factors that were useful in predicting comprehension difficulty.
3. A multiple regression analysis is performed to determine which factors are most highly related to the criterion measure and at what point the inclusion of another factor in the regression equation ceases to yield a significant increase in the predictive power of the equation.
4. Mathematical transformations are used to translate the formula into grade level equivalents (e.g., 3.2, 4.5, etc.)

Factors Commonly Found in Readability Formulas

While a variety of factors have appeared in different readability formulas, 3 types of factors consistently appear (Klare, 1963). First, almost all formulas have some measure of word difficulty. These usually turn out to be a direct or, more commonly, an indirect measure of word frequency. Second, about 60 per cent of the available formulas use some measure of sentence length. Third, about 30 per cent use some measure of sentence complexity (e.g., number of prepositional phrases or the number of subordinate clauses).

Uses of Readability Formulas

After the regression equations are built, the formula is ready to use as an instrument to measure the difficulty of existing material or as an aid to use in constructing new material. Flesch (1945, 1946a, 1946b, 1951), for example, has prepared several handbooks and sets of recommendations to guide a writer in constructing new materials. While some of his recommendations relate to conceptual elements (abstractness/concreteness), most are methods for reducing sentence length. For example, he recommends using as few adjectives and adverbs as possible and avoiding prepositions and replacing coordinating and subordinating conjunctions with periods.

Such recommendations reveal a common error in interpreting correlational data by assuming that correlation means causality. The fact that sentence length, sentence complexity, or any other factor correlates with the difficulty people experience in answering questions does not imply that altering those correlates will reduce difficulty. It may be that length and complexity are simply indices of complex semantic content; that is, a long or complex

Table 1. Studies Using Reading Comprehension Criteria				
Group	Author(s)	Date	Independent Variable	Findings
1	1. Orndorff	1925	Long vs. short sentences	No difference
	2. Gibbons	1931	Long vs. short sentences	Indeterminate
	3. Holland	1933	Long vs. short sentences	Indeterminate
	4. Hites	1950	Long vs. short sentences	No difference
2	5. Nolte	1937	Low vs. high vocabulary scores	No difference
	6. Kueneman	1931	Low vs. high vocabulary scores	No difference
3	7. Marshall	1957	Low vs. high readability scores	No difference
	8. Brown	1952	Low vs. high readability scores	Low scores yielded better comprehension
	9. Klare, Shuford, and Nichols	1957	Low vs. high readability scores	Low scores yielded better comprehension

sentence is long or complex because it represents a concept or principle that could not be communicated in simpler language.

Experimental Studies Based on Readability Formulas

An interesting question to ask is: If you have a concept that you want to communicate, what syntactic form should you select in order to maximize comprehension? Such a question cannot be answered by using correlational analysis. Its answer demands that semantic content be held constant, while syntactic form is varied, between versions of a passage.

Several studies appear to have been designed to answer this question or similar questions. They fall out into 3 groups distinguishable by their independent variables (see Table 1). All the studies in group 1 used sentence length as the independent variable; those in group 2, word frequency; those in group 3, total readability score (an independent variable which included both sentence length and word frequency). The studies are summarized in Table 1. The dependent variable in each was total score on a comprehension test.

An interesting pattern develops. There were no differences between versions when either sentence length or word frequency was the independent variable. The simultaneous application of both, however, appeared to do what neither could do alone.

Unfortunately, there exists no single study which employed a design that permits one to measure the effects of either factor as well as the unique effects due to their interaction.

It is highly unlikely that the studies in group 1 or 3 were adequate measures of the influence of sentence length. Adequacy depends on the kinds of questions that were asked in the comprehension tests. For example, if one rewrites sentence (1) as sentence (2) (which, incidentally, takes Flesch's recommendations), he is manipulating sentence length as a variable. If he uses question (3) to determine the influence of sentence length, he has provided an adequate test of its effect.

- (1) Because the dog barked a lot, the boy kicked the dog.
- (2) The dog barked a lot. The boy kicked the dog.¹

- (3) Why did the boy kick the dog?
- (4) Who kicked the dog?

If, however, he uses question (4), he has tested a relation whose syntactic form is constant across sentences (1) and (2). Question (4) is not relevant to the causal relation whose form is varied between (1) and (2).

Because so many of the classic readability formulas were constructed so long ago, the investigator was unable to uncover any of the tests that were used to grade the passages. Nevertheless, given the general kinds of criteria historically used to build comprehension tests, it seems reasonable to infer that the tests included a variety of types of comprehension questions (e.g., literal comprehension of facts, word meaning, main idea, inferential reasoning, critical reading). If this is a fair inference, then it follows that at least some of the questions would have tested relations whose form was constant across versions (such as question (4)), while some questions would have been so global in nature (e.g., main idea question) that the alterations in form were irrelevant.

In short, it appears unlikely that any of the correlational or experimental studies in readability has provided a fair test of the variables traditionally assumed to influence comprehension difficulty. The question that must be asked to generate an adequate criterion is, "If I have an *idea* I want to communicate, what's the best way to communicate it?"

More Recent Readability Research

The most exhaustive readability study in recent years was conducted by Bormuth (1966). He used correlational and multiple regression analyses to determine the predictive power of over 100 structural variables. His study is of special interest because he analyzed a number of variables not used in the classical research and

1. It can be argued that no causality occurs here. However, causality is often implied in written text rather than made explicit. Hence, this statement represents a real rather than a hypothetical alternative. (Cf., Flesch, 1945, 1946a, 1946b, 1951).

because he used a new criterion to measure passage difficulty: the subjects' ability to fill in cloze tests over the passage.

In general, the same variables that have traditionally shown high correlations with passage difficulty maintained their status. In addition, he found a number of new variables that exhibited high correlations. Several parts of speech ratios were highly related to passage difficulty (e.g., pronoun/conjunction: $r = .81$; interjection/pronoun: $r = .62$; verb/conjunction: $r = .73$). A new measure of sentence complexity based on Yngve's (1960, 1962) word depth analysis was also significantly related to passage difficulty ($r = -.55$).

Coleman (1965), working with adults, found that relative clauses written in highly embedded forms like (5) were harder to recall than those written in less highly embedded forms, such as (6).

- (5) The rat that the cat killed ate the malt.
- (6) The cat killed the rat that ate the malt.

He also found that the nominalizations of active verbs (example (7)) were harder to recall than sentences using the active verbs themselves (example (8)).

- (7) The boys' planning of the party was a lot of work.
- (8) The boys planned the party, and it was a lot of work.

It is difficult to assess the relevance of Coleman's findings to the present study because of his response measure. He had his subjects write down as much as they could remember from passages written in less versus more highly embedded forms and active verb versus nominalization forms. If one tests comprehension with wh-type questions, Coleman's findings might be reversed. For example, given the question,

- (9) Which rat ate the malt?

form (5) might well prove to yield better comprehension than form (6).

Hypotheses Emanating from Readability Research

A number of plausible hypotheses concerning the influence of structural factors on comprehension emerge from the classical and recent readability research. If conceptual equivalence is maintained, then a) one longer sentence should prove more difficult than 2 or more shorter sentences; b) the inclusion of subordinating and coordinating conjunctions should increase comprehension difficulty; c) highly embedded forms should be more difficult than low-embedded forms. It is interesting to note that hypothesis b (and to a lesser degree, hypothesis c) also tests hypothesis (a). Conjunction almost always increases sentence length; embedding usually does.

Recent Psycholinguistic Research

With the advent of transformational-generative grammars (Chomsky, 1957), many psychologists interested in verbal behavior began to look to this new approach to linguistics as a model for explaining language comprehension and production. Beginning with the work of Miller (1960), there have been a host of

studies that have attempted in one way or another to make a direct correspondence between the psychological model of the speaker, hearer, or reader and the units and operations of transformational-generative grammars.

Several studies found that transforming kernel sentences (simple active voice declarative statements) into passive, or negative, or interrogative form increases the difficulty that subjects experience in processing the sentences (Miller, 1962; Miller and McKean, 1964; Mehler, 1963). There was a fair relationship obtained between the amount of time taken to process a sentence and the number of transformations involved in getting from the kernel form to the other forms. Gough (1965) tested subjects' ability to verify statements made about pictures placed in front of them. He found that as the number of transformations for a form increased, subjects took longer to verify the statement.

Savin and Perchonok (1965) investigated this issue by using a short term memory task. A sentence was presented along with a string of unrelated words. The subject was instructed to remember the sentence as well as the additional words. Fewer unrelated words were recalled in the case of passive, negative, or interrogative forms than in the case of simple active forms, even though some of the transformed versions were, in fact, shorter than the active versions. In a follow-up study Savin (1966) found that subjects were able to recall more words following right branching forms (10) than following self-embedding forms (11).

- (10) The contractor built a house that had three bedrooms.
- (11) The house that the contractor built had three bedrooms.

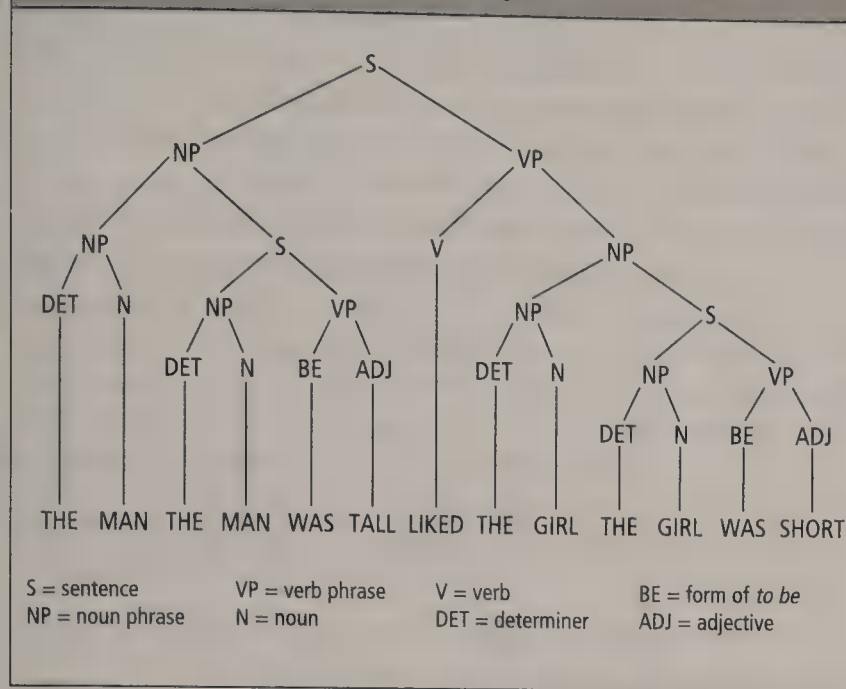
He concluded that the forms involving more transformations or more complex transformations interfered more with memory because they required additional psychological processing in order to get to a deep structure representation.

The relevant point about these studies is that the investigators have explicitly claimed or implicitly assumed a correspondence between grammatical and psychological models. While there is by no means unanimity of opinion regarding these claims (Fodor and Garrett, 1966), much current research operates under the same assumptions. In addition, researchers concerned with the technology of written instruction (e.g., Bormuth, Manning, Carr, and Pearson, 1970; Coleman, 1964, 1965) have conducted experiments that have assumed such a correspondence. It seems useful, therefore, to describe the grammatical bases upon which the corresponding psychological model is founded.

A Sample Transformational Grammar

One of the major distinctions within a transformational generative grammar is between deep structure and surface structure. The meaning of a sentence is represented by its deep structure; the form in which a sentence emerges as speech or writing is represented by its surface structure. The distinction is not trivial because a single surface structure may have more than one possible deep structure, in which case the sentence is ambiguous. Consider the classic example:

Figure 1. Deep Structure Representation of a Sentence with 2 Embedded Adjectives



(12) Flying planes can be dangerous.

It can mean either that you had better stay out of airplanes or that you had better hide when you hear a plane flying overhead. Surface structure ambiguities are resolved at the deep structure level.

A single deep structure may have several possible surface structure representations. Consider the deep structure given in Figure 1. Such a deep structure has several possible surface structure forms. By simply disembedding the 2 sentences under noun phrases, for example, we could get

(13) The man liked the girl. The man was tall. The girl was short.

By embedding *short* as an adjective, we get

(14) The man liked the short girl. The man was tall.

By embedding *the man was tall* as a relative clause, we get

(15) The man who was tall liked the short girl.

By embedding *tall* as an adjective, we get

(16) The tall man liked the short girl.

All of these as well as other possible surface structures differ only in form, not meaning. The semantic interpretation has been determined by the deep structure. Whether or not these surface forms communicate the meaning of the deep structure with equal efficiency is an empirical question. The point is that they are, according to a grammatical interpretation, semantically (or conceptually) equivalent.

In a grammatical analysis, one gets from deep structure to surface structure by performing certain transformations on deep structure. The operations by which we arrived at (13), (14), (15), and (16) are crude statements of transformations.

If one believes that deep structure corresponds in some fashion to the state in which verbal data are processed in the mind, then it

is plausible to argue that the number of transformations necessary to get from deep structure to a particular surface structure is an index of the complexity of the surface structure. Hence surface structures exhibiting relatively fewer transformations should be processed with greater speed and accuracy, and vice-versa.

In the set examples (13)–(16), (13) requires the fewest transformations, (14) the second fewest, (15) the third fewest, and (16) the most. If one believes that the grammatical model is a one-to-one mapping of a psychological model (that is, that it describes how data are processed mentally), then it is reasonable to argue that if one tested the efficiency of these forms, they would rank (13) > (14) > (15) > (16). These are exactly the kinds of claims made by the deep structure model.

Recent Research in Conceptual Abstraction (the chunk model)

Within the past 5 years, there has been an attempt by some psycholinguists to offer an alternative view of verbal processing (e.g., Bransford and Franks, 1971). This view hypothesizes that conceptual representational structures or “semantic chunks,” rather than atomistic deep structure components, constitute the verbal data which are processed in the mind. Hypothetical storage units might be “tall man,” “short girl,” or “the tall man hit the short girl.” The hearer or reader has to go through some sort of synthesizing process to cement them together (or else he fails to do so and never comprehends the relation.)

Bransford and Franks (1971) have completed several studies supporting the chunk model. They presented adult subjects with larger and smaller components of sentences like (17).

(17) The rock which rolled down the mountain crushed the tiny hut on the edge of the forest.

Later they asked the subjects to state whether or not they had actually heard certain components, and to rate the confidence they had in their judgments. Larger components were given higher recognition scores and confidence ratings than smaller components, irrespective of whether or not they had actually been heard. In other words, the subjects felt more confident about having heard (18) than (19), even though they might have actually heard both of them or neither of them.

(18) The rock which rolled down the mountain crushed the hut.

(19) The hut was tiny.

Bransford and Franks concluded that the findings supported a psychological model that gives primacy to semantic rather than syntactic relations.

In the set of examples (13)–(16), the chunk model would predict that the ranking for comprehension efficiency of the forms would be the exact reverse of the ranking predicted by the deep structure model. Whereas the deep structure would predict (13) > (14) > (15) > (16), the chunk model would predict (16) > (15) > (14) > (13).

REVIEW OF THEORETICAL POSITIONS AND PURPOSES OF THE STUDY

It is clear that the deep structure model and the chunk model stand in opposition to one another. What the one predicts will be simple, the other predicts will be difficult. The third theoretical position, the readability hypothesis, co-varies to a great extent with the deep structure model. For example, when embedded elements are removed from one sentence and expressed as a separate sentence, average sentence length, and, many times, grammatical complexity are reduced.

It should be pointed out that this study has a practical purpose which is relatively independent of its theoretical purpose. That is, it may be possible, using a methodology which holds constant the semantic—or conceptual—nature of a statement while it allows syntactic form to vary, to determine the relative efficiency of various syntactic forms in communicating a given idea. Such a scaling of communication efficiency could prove useful to persons who prepare materials for children, quite independently of whether or not the scaling supported any particular theoretical position.

THE EXPERIMENTS

The data from the 3 separate experiments are reported in this section. Experiment 1 examined children's comprehension of causal and adjectival relations. Experiments 2 and 3 were conducted subsequent to experiment 1 for the purpose of clarifying ambiguity found in the first experiment. Experiment 2 examined children's preference for various syntactical representations of a common idea. Experiment 3 examined children's recall of causal relations.

The situation is further complicated by the fact that experiments 1 and 2 each had 3 parts. In the sections of this report for experiments 1 and 2, the methodology is described for all of experiment 1 and all of experiment 2; however, the results for each of the 3 parts of experiment 1 are reported and discussed separately.

EXPERIMENT 1: COMPREHENSION

Subjects

The subjects were 64 third and fourth grade students attending elementary school in a middle class suburb of Minneapolis. The subjects were selected by participating teachers who were instructed to choose the 5 ablest students from each of their high and middle reading groups. Low ability students were eliminated in order to reduce the likelihood that word recognition problems would complicate measures of comprehension. Initially, 80 subjects were selected. Because of absences, failures to understand the task, and random deletion, the group was reduced from 80 to 64 subjects. The resulting sample was subdivided into 4 groups: 16 medium-achieving third graders (3M), 16 high-achieving third graders (3H), 16 medium-achieving fourth graders (4M), and 16 high-achieving fourth graders (4H). Most of the data were analyzed using grade and achievement level as factors distinguishing between subjects.

Materials

The materials were relatively simple sentences or groups of sentences constructed by the experimenter. They were typed on plain white 4" × 6" index cards in heavy black type. One general criterion was used in generating the materials: that they be as similar as possible to "real" written discourse that children encounter in textbooks and trade books. In order to meet this criterion, the experimenter reviewed children's trade books and basal reading texts to make certain that the sentence types he had chosen for the study represented real alternatives in commonly used materials.

Items for the 3 parts of the comprehension experiment were generated using 4 steps.

Step 1. For each part, decide on the surface structure forms that are of interest as well as the type(s) of wh-questions which provide a fair test of the relation whose surface structure is varied across forms (c.f.,)

For experiment 1.1, eight different surface structure forms were generated by crossing all the combinations—2 levels of each of 3 factors: cue, order and sentence.² Table 2 lists these factors in Form Code, explains the levels of each factor, and gives an example of each of the surface structure forms generated by crossing all levels of all factors. In addition, it shows the particular wh-question used to test the relation.

Table 2. Structural Variations in Causal Relations

Form Code*	Example of Form
000	Because John was lazy, he slept all day.
001	John was lazy. So he slept all day.
010	John slept all day because he was lazy.
011	John slept all day. This was because he was lazy.
100	John was lazy and he slept all day.
101	John was lazy. He slept all day.
110	John slept all day, and he was lazy.
111	John slept all day. He was lazy.
—wh	Why did John sleep all day?

* The 3 columns of the form code denote the 2 levels of each factor. The left hand column refers to cuing condition. A cue can either be *present* (0) or *absent* (1). The second column denotes level of order; it can be either *cause-effect* (0) or *effect-cause* (1). The last column denotes sentence level. It can be a *one-sentence* construction (0) or a *2-sentence* construction (1).

For experiments 1.2, and 1.3, four surface structure forms were generated by applying successive transformations on the deep structure representation of a sentence containing 2 embedded sentences which dealt with adjectival relations. Table 3 gives examples of the surface structure forms generated by applying these transformations. It also lists the test questions generated by applying wh-transformations to the deep structure. The *which* question was used in experiment 1.2; the *who* question in experiment 1.3.

2. The experimenter was unable to locate any transformational-generative grammatical analysis of causal relations as specific and detailed as those available for modifying relations. Hence these operations were generated by the experimenter as a quasi-substitute.

Table 3. Sample Forms for Adjectival Experiments (1.2, 1.3, 2.2, and 2.3)	
Form Code	Example of Form
1	The tall man liked the short woman.
2	The man who was tall liked the short woman.
3	The man liked the short woman. He was tall.
4	The man liked the woman. He was tall. She was short.
Which	Which man liked the short woman?
Who	Who liked the short woman?

Step 2. Select as many sentence contents (sentences which contain the relation of interest) as there are surface structure forms. For experiment 1.1 it was necessary to select 8 sentences; for 1.2, four sentences; for 1.3, four sentences.

Step 3. Build a sentence by form matrix by applying each operation outlined in Step 1 to each of the sentences selected in Step 2.

Step 4. To build a test item, select a particular sentence × form combination (a cell in the matrix) and the appropriate test question to go with it. (Note that the test question is the same for all surface structure forms of the same sentence.) Notice that 64 test items are generated in the 8 × 8 causal matrix for experiment 1.1, while 16 test items are generated in each of the 4 × 4 matrices for experiments 1.2 and 1.3.

A test for a given subject was built by assigning test items so that he was exposed to each surface structure form and each sentence once and only once. In experiment 1.1, then, each subject received 8 unique sentence × form combinations (8 unique cells in the matrix). This meant that 8 subjects were needed to gather data on each cell in the matrix—that is, for one complete replication of the matrix. Similarly, 4 subjects were needed to complete a replication of the 4 × 4 matrix in either experiment 1.2 or 1.3.

To control for practice effects and “experimental set,” 2 precautions were taken. First, for a given matrix, each surface structure form and each sentence were tested equally often in each serial position within a test. Second, the test items from a given matrix were separated from one another by 7 intervening “dummy” items.

Since the data for each of the 3 comprehension experiments were collected in the same testing situation, items from experiment 1.2 and 1.3 could serve as a portion of the “dummy” items for experiment 1.1, and vice-versa.

Testing Procedures

Each subject was individually tested in an unused classroom relatively free of disturbances. The experimenter told the subject that he was interested in how well children answer questions about what they read. The subject’s task was to pick up a card from the tray, read it aloud and hand it to the experimenter. The experimenter then asked the subject a question testing the relation of interest. The experimenter recorded the subject’s response on a preconstructed answer sheet. In addition, the entire session was tape recorded so that the experimenter could subsequently verify

his response classifications. The subject was tested on 6 practice items before he began the test. Any subject who could not understand the task or who seemed unduly anxious was dismissed from the session.

Treatment of the Data

All of the data from the 3 comprehension experiments were analyzed by using between-subject, within-subject analyses of variance for dichotomous data (Winer, 1962). Two between factors, grade level (3 or 4) and achievement level (medium or high), were common to analyses from experiments 1.1, 1.2, and 1.3. The within-subjects factors (operations used to generate surface forms) as well as the scoring procedures for experiment 1.1 (causal relations) differed from those used in experiments 1.2 and 1.3.

For experiment 1.1 the 3 within-subjects factors were cue, order, and sentence level (c.f., Table 2). Two dependent variables were used: number of correct responses and number of subordinate responses. A response was scored correct if it contained the major lexical elements in the dependent clause of form 000. Reasonable paraphrases were also scored correct. Using the example in Table 2, (20), (21), and (22) would have been scored correct.

- (20) because John (or he) was lazy.
- (21) John (or he) was lazy.
- (22) Lazy people sleep all day.

A response was scored as subordinate if it began with the word *because* or a reasonable semantic substitute for *because* (since, as, for). Subordinated responses were examined in order to assess the stability of response outputs as a function of the varying stimulus inputs.

For the experiments 1.2 and 1.3, surface structure form (the 4 forms shown in Table 3) served as the within-subjects independent variable. In each case, form 1 was always the form representing the greatest number of transformations (from deep to surface structure), while form 4 represented the fewest. The overall statistical test for *form* was omitted, allowing these orthogonal contrasts:

$$\begin{aligned}\Gamma_1 &= F_1 + F_2 - F_3 - F_4 \\ \Gamma_2 &= F_1 - F_2 \\ \Gamma_3 &= F_3 - F_4\end{aligned}$$

For experiment 1.2, the adjective experiment which used a *which* question to test the effect of structural changes, there were 3 dependent variables: a) number of *errors*, b) number of *adjectival* responses, and c) number of *clausal* responses. The 3 dependent variables constituted mutually exclusive categories. A response was scored as *adjectival* if it was of the form, “the *tall* boy,” or “the *tall* one.” A response was scored as *clausal* if it was of the form, “the boy *who was tall*,” or “the one *who was tall*.” The following kinds of responses were scored as *errors*: a) incorrect adjectives or clauses assigned to the nominal, b) no response, c) any otherwise unclassified response.

For experiment 1.3—the adjective experiment which used a *who* question—the dependent variables were slightly different from

those used in experiment 1.2. They included number of *errors*, number of *adjective-noun* responses (like the *adjective* responses in 1.2), number of *noun-clause* responses (akin to the *clausal* responses in 1.2), and number of *noun* responses. The classification procedures were identical to the *adjective-which* study, except for *noun* responses. A response was classified as a *noun* if the correct *noun* was used without either an adjectival or a clausal modifier.

Results and Discussion

Experiment 1.1—causal relations. When the number of correct responses is analyzed, the surprising finding is that differences between groups, among forms, or among cells are so small. The largest difference between groups is 2; the largest between forms, also 2. In short, virtually every subject responded correctly to every form. Out of a total of 512 responses, there were only 11 errors. No analysis of variance was computed.

A different picture results when the dependent variable is number of subordinated responses. Cell totals are reported in Table 4. There was a significantly higher total for the *cue-present* (0++)³ condition ($T = 193$) than for *cue-absent* (1++) condition ($T = 137$), $F_{(1,60)} = 26.3750$, $p < .01$. The difference between *one-sentence* (++)0 forms ($T = 182$) and *2-sentence* (++)1 forms ($T = 148$) was also significant $F_{(1,60)} = 16.5034$, $p < .01$. Differences for other main effects were not significant.

Table 4. Cell Totals: Experiment 1.1—Number of Subordinated Responses									
Form									
Group	000	001	010	011	100	101	110	111	T _{Group}
3M	11	8	14	13	7	7	10	8	78
3H	13	9	15	14	10	11	9	7	88
4M	11	8	13	13	9	9	10	7	80
4H	16	10	12	13	12	7	10	4	84
T _{Form}	51	35	54	53	38	34	39	26	330

Of the 26 interactions, only 2 were significant: a) cue × order, $F_{(1,60)} = 17.6667$, $p < .01$; and b) cue × order × sentence, $F_{(1,60)} = 8.2640$, $p < .01$. The cue × order interaction graph indicates that when a cue was present, the *effect-cause* order produced more subordinated responses, but that when no cue word was present, the *cause-effect* order produced more. This interaction was really due to the unique influences of forms 001 and 111. Form 001, the *so* form was the only form within the *cue-present* condition that was different from the others. It did not contain the subordinating conjunction *because*. Form 111 likewise depressed the totals for the *effect-cause* order within the *no-cue* condition. An examination of

3. Numbers refer back to Table 2. The + signs indicate that we are summing over levels of these variables. The first of the 3 numeral positions indicates cuing variable; the second, order; the third, sentence.

the cue × order × sentence interaction revealed that these same 2 forms, 001 and 111, are mainly responsible for the interaction.

It is clear that, in terms of number of correct responses, no support for the readability hypothesis or the chunk model is possible. The surprising finding is how well, not how poorly, all groups did on all forms. Perhaps the semantic content of the sentences was so simple that it masked possible differences due to form.

In terms of the number of subordinated responses (those that begin with *because* or one of its synonyms), there are clear effects due to conditions of cuing and sentence; the cuing effect is even more striking if one compares form 001, the *so* form, with the other *cue-present* forms. The other 3 all contained the word *because*; and they all elicited a higher number of *because* responses than the *so* form. This difference is not surprising because, given a *why* question about a causal relationship, there is no reason to begin the response with *so*. It is syntactically and logically unnecessary. The more interesting fact is that there were as many subordinated responses as there were to the *so* stimulus condition and to the various *cue-absent* stimulus conditions.

Despite the cue × order × sentence interaction, the sentence effect is in the same direction across cue × order conditions. If one regards each successive pair of forms as minimal pairs differing only with respect to sentence condition, the difference between members within each pair favor the *one-sentence* condition. (See Table 5.) It is true, however, that the differences between members of a pair vary widely between pairs.

Table 5. Differences Due to Sentence Condition Within and Between Pairs Classified by Cue and Order Conditions: Experiment 1.1									
Pair									
		1		2		3		4	
Code	Cue × Order Sentence	00_0	00_1	01_0	01_1	10_0	10_1	11_0	11_1
Totals		51	35	54	53	38	34	39	26
Differences		16		1		4		13	
Differences obtained by subtracting (___1) from (___0).									

It is somewhat difficult to evaluate what it is that the dependent variable of number of subordinated responses means. It is clear that (23) is just as correct an answer as (24); perhaps the insertion of *because* indicates a more *unified* conception of the causal relation.

- (23) John was lazy.
(24) Because John was lazy.

If that is a reasonable view, it follows that both cuing and sentence conditions have an effect on children's ability to unify a causal relation, but that the effects do vary across levels of order (that is, the cue × order × sentence interaction). At best, however, this is a speculative explanation. However, data from experiments 2.1 and 3 do shed light on this explanation.

Table 6. Cell Totals: Experiment 1.2—Number of Responses by Form and Group

Response Type	Group	Form				T _{Group}
		1	2	3	4	
Errors	3M	5	1	4	3	13
	3H	2	1	4	4	11
	4M	3	3	6	5	17
	4H	2	0	4	6	12
	T _{Form}	12	5	18	18	53
Adjective Responses	3M	11	7	7	9	34
	3H	14	2	7	5	28
	4M	13	6	8	10	37
	4H	14	2	7	7	30
	T _{Form}	52	17	29	31	129
Clausal Responses	3M	0	8	5	4	17
	3H	0	13	5	7	25
	4M	0	7	2	2	11
	4H	0	14	5	3	22
	T _{Form}	0	42	17	16	75

Experiment 1.2—adjective relations (using a which question). The cell totals for the 3 dependent variables are reported in Table 6. The ANOVA for the number of *errors* revealed that none of the between-subject effects and none of the interaction effects were significant. The only significant comparison within subjects was the contrast:

$$\begin{aligned}\Gamma_1 &= F_1 + F_2 - F_3 - F_4 \\ &= 12 + 5 - 18 - 18 \\ F_{(1,180)} &= 8.2904, p < .01.\end{aligned}$$

F_1 and F_2 , the highly cohesive forms, yielded significantly fewer errors than the less cohesive forms, F_3 and F_4 . The comparison between the adjective form (Form 1) and the clausal form (Form 2) favored the clausal, but the difference was not significant.

The ANOVA for the number of *adjectival responses* indicated that none of the between-subject comparisons was significant.

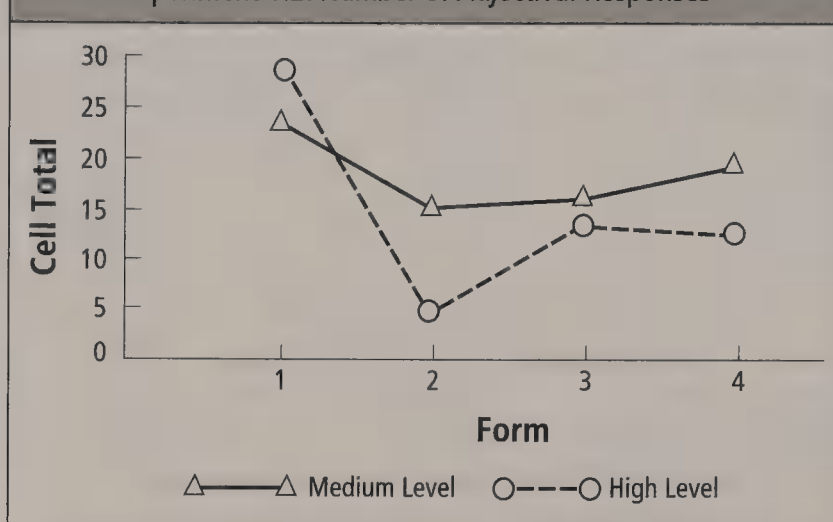
Of the 3 specific orthogonal contrasts between levels of form, only the contrast Γ_2 was significant:

$$\begin{aligned}\Gamma_2 &: F_1 - F_2 \\ &: 52 - 17 \\ F_{(1,180)} &= 46.6113, p < .01.\end{aligned}$$

There was a high incidence of *adjectival responses* to both F_3 and F_4 stimuli. One interaction was significant: level $\times$ form, $F_{(3,180)} = 2.1705$, $.01 < p < .05$. The interaction graph, Figure 2, indicates that high achievers gave more *adjectival responses* to adjective (F_1) stimuli, but that medium achievers gave more *adjectival responses* to other stimulus forms.

The results for the dependent variable, number of *clausal responses*, revealed a significant effect due to level ($T_M = 28$, $T_H = 47$), $F_{(1,60)} = 6.0368$, $.01 < p < .05$. The contrast between the adjective and clausal stimulus forms was also significant:

Figure 2. Graph of Level $\times$ Form Interaction: Experiment 1.2: Number of *Adjectival Responses*



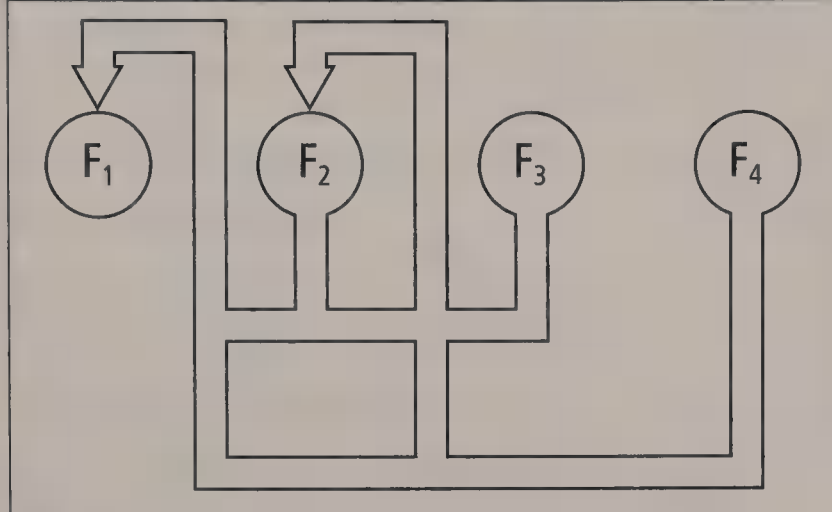
$$\begin{aligned}\Gamma_2 &: F_1 - F_2 \\ &: 0 - 42 \\ F_{(1,180)} &= 69.7667, p < .01.\end{aligned}$$

Only one of 6 between-subject comparisons was significant. There are few data to indicate any important developmental trends in the response outputs made by the different groups of subjects. There is a tendency, however, for high achievers to give relatively more *clausal responses*, while medium achievers seem to give more *adjectival responses*.

All 3 dependent variables were sensitive to differences between forms, but none of them matched the predictions outlined by the transformational model. The error data lend partial support to the chunk model, but they separate the forms into 2 rather than 4 categories. Comprehension of the *which* question is better when the relationship is stated more cohesively (F_1 or F_2) than when it is stated less cohesively (F_3 or F_4), but there are no significant distinctions within these categories. The lack of a distinction between F_3 and F_4 is reasonable because the relationship tested by the *which* question was constant across these forms. A relative clause structure (F_2) appears, however, to provide as much, if not more, cohesiveness for the nominal-modifier relationship than does an adjective structure (F_1).

The other dependent variables, number of *adjectival responses* and number of *clausal responses*, provide predictable results. Within the 2 highly cohesive forms (F_1 and F_2), there is a strong tendency for responses to match the stimulus input. While there is a small amount of crossover from a clause input to an *adjectival* output (response), there is no crossover in the opposite direction. The crossover from less cohesive inputs (F_3 and F_4) was proportional for both *adjectival* and *clausal responses*. If the 4 forms are placed on a continuum from the theoretically most cohesive to the theoretically least cohesive (Figure 3), then output flow is unidirectional; that is, it goes only from less cohesive inputs to more cohesive outputs. Thus both the error data and the correct response data lend some support to the chunk model. Responses move toward a more cohesive form because the subjects' perception of the relationships involved converges on the more cohesive forms.

Figure 3. Diagram of Response Output Flow from Stimulus Inputs: Experiment 1.2



Experiment 1.3—*adjective relations (using a who question)*. The unidirectional flow in Figure 4 presents an interesting, but biased, picture. It is interesting because the flow is unidirectional, indicating that increasingly cohesive forms are more stable in terms of output. But it is biased because there is no crossover possible from F_1 or F_2 or F_3 or F_4 ; that is, the *which* question preempts a *noun* response.

When a set of materials identical in form to those in experiment 1.2 are constructed, and when the relationship tested is the *nominal-rest of the sentence* relationship, the data provide a more reasonable test of the flow model in Figure 4. This results from the fact that, given a *who* question, a single *noun* (“the boy”) is equally as reasonable a response as an *adjectival* (“the tall boy”) response or a *clausal* (“the boy who was tall”) response. Note, however, that a price is paid for this test: the *who* question does not test the nominal-modifier relationship, according to the criteria established earlier (see Figure 1). Even so, it is a useful study because it allows one to look at the stability of different forms as measured by the crossover tendencies of responses elicited from stimulus inputs.

The results from experiment 1.3 are reported in Table 7. In general, there were no significant effects due to either grade or level; nor were there any significant interactions. The cell totals for number of *errors* are notable for their infrequency rather than their frequency. Of the 256 responses classified, only 5 were classified as *errors*.

The ANOVA for number of *adjective-noun* responses revealed 2 significant contrasts between levels of form.

$$\begin{aligned} \text{a) } \Gamma_1 : F_1 + F_2 - F_3 - F_4 \\ : 61 + 8 - 16 - 13 \\ F_{(1, 180)} = 50.6483, p < .01. \end{aligned}$$

$$\begin{aligned} \text{b) } \Gamma_2 : F_1 - F_2 \\ : 61 - 8 \\ F_{(1, 180)} = 177.8387, p < .01. \end{aligned}$$

Clearly, F_1 elicited far more *adjective-noun* responses than any other form. With respect to the number of *noun-clause* responses, 2 contrasts between levels of form were significant:

Table 7. Cell Totals: Experiment 1.3—Number of Responses by Form and Group

Response Type	Group	Form				T_{Group}
		1	2	3	4	
Errors	3M	0	0	0	3	3
	3H	0	0	0	0	0
	4M	1	0	0	1	2
	4H	0	0	0	0	0
	T_{Form}	1	0	0	4	5
Adjective-Noun Responses	3M	16	0	5	1	22
	3H	15	1	3	4	23
	4M	15	3	3	3	24
	4H	15	4	5	5	29
	T_{Form}	61	8	16	13	98
Noun-Clause Responses	3M	0	13	4	4	21
	3H	0	15	5	3	23
	4M	0	11	4	2	17
	4H	0	12	3	2	17
	T_{Form}	0	51	16	11	78
Noun Responses	3M	0	3	7	8	18
	3H	1	0	8	9	18
	4M	0	2	9	10	21
	4H	1	0	8	9	18
	T_{Form}	2	5	32	36	75

$$\begin{aligned} \text{a) } \Gamma_1 : F_1 + F_2 - F_3 - F_4 \\ : 0 + 51 - 16 - 11 \\ F_{(1, 180)} = 19.4546, p < .01. \end{aligned}$$

$$\begin{aligned} \text{b) } \Gamma_2 : F_1 - F_2 \\ : 0 - 51 \\ F_{(1, 180)} = 175.7811, p < .01. \end{aligned}$$

The results obtained when the dependent variable was number of *noun-clause* responses were nearly the perfect inverse of the results obtained when the dependent variable was number of *adjective-noun* responses.

The ANOVA for the number of *noun* responses indicated that one contrast was significant:

$$\begin{aligned} \Gamma_1 : F_1 + F_2 - F_3 - F_4 \\ : 2 + 5 - 32 - 36 \\ F_{(1, 180)} = 99.1480, p < .01. \end{aligned}$$

The least cohesive forms elicited far more *noun* responses than the more cohesive forms. The differences between the 2 less cohesive forms or between the 2 more cohesive forms were small and insignificant.

The error data provide no basis for distinguishing between any factors. There are too few errors on which to make any judgments. The data from the other 3 dependent variables are consonant with the data from experiment 1.2, and the crossover patterns from stimulus input to response output provide support for the model diagrammed in Figure 6. Some modifications are necessary, however, because there is at least some crossover from

Table 8. Input-Output Matrix: Experiment 1.3					
		Form of the Response			
		Adj-Noun	Noun Clause	Noun	Error
Form of the Stimulus	F ₁ Adj-Noun	61	0	2	1
	F ₂ Noun Clause	8	51	5	0
	F ₃ Noun ₁	16	16	32	0
	F ₄ Noun ₂	13	11	36	4
	Total	98	78	75	5

more cohesive inputs to less cohesive outputs. Table 8 provides a useful format for scrutinizing the data. Stimulus inputs are listed in the rows; response outputs are listed in the columns.

First of all, the data do not discriminate very well between F₃ and F₄ inputs. Apparently once the modifier is formally removed from the nominal, no further psychological separation occurs. If F₃ and F₄ are considered as a single state, then it appears that as input forms become less cohesive, stability (the incidence of matches between input and outputs) decreases.

The general trend of response flow convergence is toward more cohesive forms for those responses that do not match stimulus inputs. The crossover toward less cohesive forms is minimal.

Taken as a unit, experiments 1.2 and 1.3 indicate that more cohesive forms yield better comprehension and more stable comprehension. Furthermore, subjects' preception of the stimulus inputs for adjectival relationship move toward the more cohesive response outputs. The chunk model can accommodate these findings more easily than the deep structure model. In fact, they are not predictable at all under the deep structure model. The only question about the chunk model is whether or not there are really 4 levels of cohesiveness. The data would seem to indicate that 2, possibly 3, levels are more reasonable.

EXPERIMENT 2: PREFERENCE STUDIES

Because of the failure of the comprehension experiments to yield an unambiguous interpretation of the models and in order to determine whether or not important effects in the comprehension experiments were generalizable across response modes, a follow-up preference study was conducted.

Subjects for Experiment 2

The subjects were 24 fourth grade students randomly selected from 2 fourth grade classrooms not involved in the comprehension study. All readers in these classrooms were reading materials at grade level. Hence it is unlikely that word recognition problems interfered with reading the comparatively easy test items.

Materials for Experiment 2

The materials were developed in essentially the same manner as in the comprehension study; that is N × N sentence × form matrices

were constructed. However, the method for extracting an item was quite different. The subjects' task was to choose which form, from among N forms, he preferred when all forms were represented within an item. Therefore, items were distinguished only by sentence content. In the comprehension study, a 4 × 4 matrix generated 16 items; but in the preference study, a 4 × 4 matrix generated only 4 items.

The factor of order (C-E or E-C) was eliminated from the causal comprehension matrix, yielding a 4 × 4 rather than an 8 × 8 matrix. The experimenter felt that the subjects would not be able to rank 8 forms reliably. Besides the items generated for the adjective studies and the causal study, buffer items were generated by including 5 other 4 × 4 sentence × form matrices. Each subject received a test booklet containing 36 items. The 4 items from a particular matrix were separated from one another by 8 intervening items. The serial position for a given form was rotated between items so that every form appeared in every position.

A sample item for the experiment 2.1 (causal relations) was

- Why did John sleep all day?
- ___1. Because John was lazy, he slept all day.
 - ___2. John was lazy. So he slept all day.
 - ___3. John was lazy, and he slept all day.
 - ___4. John was lazy. He slept all day.

A sample item for experiment 2.2 (adjective relations which) was

- Which man thanked the young woman?
- ___1. The tall man thanked the young woman.
 - ___2. The man who was tall thanked the young woman.
 - ___3. The man thanked the young woman. He was tall.
 - ___4. The man thanked the woman. He was tall. She was young.

A sample item for experiment 2.3 (adjective relations who) was

- Who thanked the young woman?
- ___1. The tall man thanked the young woman.
 - ___2. The man who was tall thanked the young woman.
 - ___3. The man thanked the young woman. He was tall.
 - ___4. The man thanked the woman. He was tall. She was young.

Testing Procedures for Experiment 2

The preference testing was carried out in a group situation. The experimenter told the subjects that their task was to rank the forms in terms of their perceptions about the relative clarity and simplicity of the forms; that is, how much help they thought each form would provide in answering the question listed at the beginning of each item. To the form the subjects considered the best, easiest, and clearest, they assigned a rank of 1; to the second best, easiest, and clearest, a rank of 2; for the third, a rank of 3; for the worst, hardest, and least clear, a rank of 4. The experimenter explained the task to the subjects, conducted 4 examples with the

entire group, and circulated among the subjects to make certain that each one understood the task.

Treatment of the Data

Ranks for each form summed across the 4 items within a matrix for each subject. The resulting sum was used to rerank the forms. When ties occurred, average ranks were assigned. For example:

If the summed ranks for a subject were:	Then the assigned ranks for that subject were:
Form 1-8	1
Form 2-10	2.5
Form 3-10	2.5
Form 4-12	4

The assigned ranks were subjected to a Friedman χ^2 analysis of ranks (Winer, 1962) to determine differences due to form.

Results and Discussion of Experiment 2

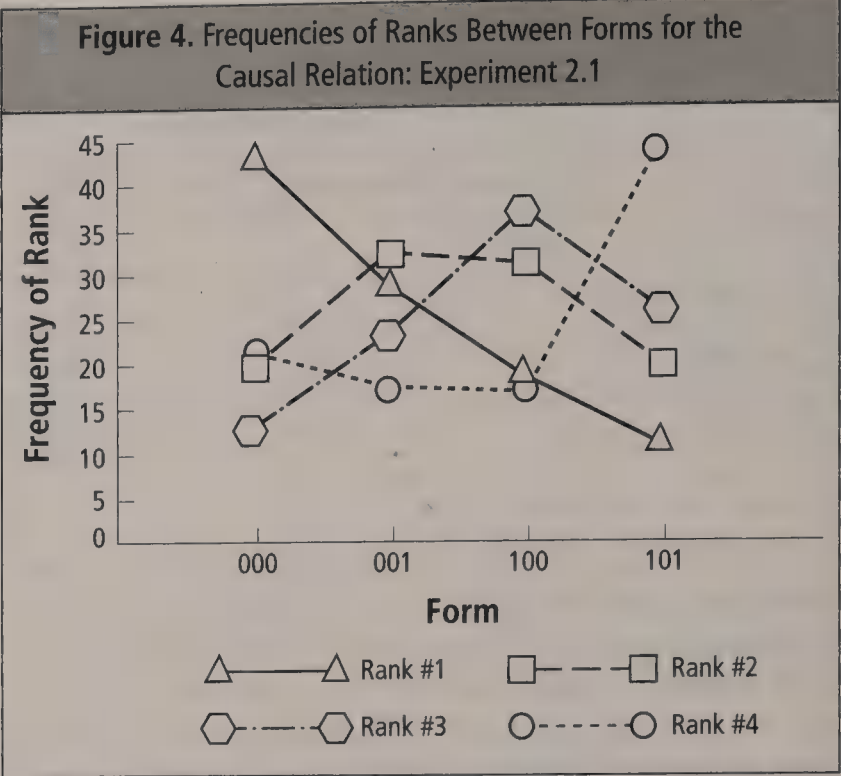
The sums of ranks and the mean ranks for each of the forms are reported in Table 9. The differences attributable to form are significant for each of the 3 sets of ranks:

- Causal— $\chi^2_{(3)} = 8.6266, .025 < p < .05$
- Adjective which— $\chi^2_{(3)} = 29.5107, p < .001$
- Who— $\chi^2_{(3)} = 34.7125, p < .001$

The magnitude of the test statistics for the adjective data indicate a clear trend on the part of subjects to select the more cohesive, more heavily embedded forms as preferable to the less cohesive, less heavily embedded forms.

The trend is not nearly as impressive for the data in the causal study; however *one sentence* forms are preferred to *two sentence* forms in either cuing conditions, and *cue-present* forms are preferred to *cue-absent* forms in either sentence condition.

A revealing picture results when the frequency of ranks between forms for the causal is graphed. The data in Figure 4 are



even more striking than the summed ranks in Table 9. Ranks #1, #2, and #3 each predict the “closeness” of the 4 forms as measured by the sums of ranks.

Only rank #4 does not discriminate along a scale. It appears to classify the 4 forms into 2 rather than 4 categories. This probably happens because the subjects rank from best (#1) through worst (#4). Hence, they may have run out of discriminating power by the time they get to #4.

Clearly, the data indicate a marked preference for the more cohesive, more grammatically complex forms. These findings can be accommodated quite easily by the chunk model. They lend no support to either the readability hypothesis or the deep structure model.

EXPERIMENT 3: AIDED RECALL OF CAUSAL RELATIONS

In order to shed light on some of the ambiguous results obtained in experiment 1.1, a modest follow-up experiment was conducted. It was felt that an examination of the relationship between stimulus input and recall output might help to explain how subjects deal with relations of causality.

Method for Experiment 3

The subjects were 8 fourth grade students who had not been used in the comprehension study. All were judged by their teachers to be average or high achievers; however, achievement level was not used as a blocking variable.

The materials were exactly the same as those used in the causal-comprehension set. In addition, 16 buffer items were included to separate the causal forms. They were selected from among the other sets in the comprehension study.

Each subject was tested individually. The experimenter told him to read each sentence and to try to remember it as best he could, because later on he would be asked to recall it. After the subject had read all 24 sentences, the experimenter began the

Table 9. Sums of Ranks Between Forms: Experiments 2.1, 2.2, 2.3

Experiment 2.1				
Causal				
Code	Form	Σ ranks	M rank	
000	<i>because</i>	49.0	2.04	
001	<i>so</i>	54.5	2.27	
100	<i>and</i>	64.0	2.67	
101	<i>no cue</i>	72.5	3.02	
Experiment 2.2		Experiment 2.3		
Which Study		Who Study		
Form	Σ ranks	M rank	Σ ranks	M rank
1	36.0	1.50	35.5	1.49
2	56.0	2.33	51.5	2.15
3	65.0	2.70	71.5	2.98
4	83.0	3.46	81.5	3.39

aided recall procedure. It proceeded in this fashion: Assume that the recall item was

(25) John was lazy, and he slept all day.

The first cue was always the first lexical item in the sentence, in this case, *John*. The experimenter asked, “Do you remember the sentence about *John*?” If the subject did, the experimenter recorded the form in which he recalled it. If he did not, the experimenter gave the second lexical item as a cue; in this example, *lazy*. The third cue was the third lexical item, *slept*. If the subject did not recall the sentence after 3 cues, the experimenter went on to a new item. The form of the response was recorded by the experimenter.

Results and Discussion of Experiment 3

The results from the aided recall study indicate very strong influences due to cuing condition and sentence condition. Because of the small number of subjects and because the results were so clear cut, the data were not subjected to inferential statistical analysis. Instead they are summarized in Table 10 in the form of an input-output matrix. The input denotes the form in which the subjects read the statement; the output denotes the form in which they recalled it. The notation for forms are the same as those used in experiment 1.1 and shown in Table 2.

A measure of input-output stability is indicated by the diagonal from upper left to lower right. Numbers in the diagonal indicate a direct match between input and output. Only forms 000, 001, 010 were stable. All other inputs, for the most part, were very unstable.

The influence of cuing condition is overwhelming. For *cue-present* inputs there were 29 *cue-present* outputs and no *cue-absent* outputs. Of the 3 errors, 2 resulted from a form 011 input, an extremely unstable form. As a matter of fact, there were no outputs in form 011 regardless of input form.

On the other hand, for *cue-absent* inputs, there were 21 *cue-present* outputs. Furthermore, more errors (T = 6) than *cue-absent* outputs (T = 5) resulted from *cue-absent* inputs.

The effect or order is also quite striking. No *cause-effect* input was recalled as an *effect-cause* output, but 7 *effect-cause* inputs resulted in *cause-effect* outputs. In addition, the *effect-cause* order yielded 7 errors as opposed to only 2 for the *cause-effect* order.

The sentence factor also proved to be striking. There were no differences in number of errors. However, there was stability for *one-sentence* inputs (22 out of 32) than for *2-sentence* inputs (10 out of 32). With respect to *2-sentence* outputs, 14 out of 16 were form 001 (*so*) outputs.

The results of the recall study must be tempered by the fact that a small sample (N = 8) was used. Even so, the findings shed considerable light on the ambiguous results of the comprehension experiment on causal relations (1.1).

First of all, it is clear that if there was a *cued* input, a *cued* output resulted. More importantly, if there was an *uncued* input, chances are there was still a *cued* output. It is possible that children store these relations in long term memory in a *cued* form regardless of the input they get. Furthermore, if they don't recall them in a *cued* form, the chances are at least 50-50 that they won't recall them at all. Given an *uncued* input, the frequency of errors was greater than the frequency of *uncued* outputs (6 vs. 5).

This helps to explain the fact that in the comprehension study there were no differences between forms in the number of correct responses made. The subjects apparently provided the necessary cues even when they were not there.

Another important finding in the recall study relates to effect of the *so* cue. In the comprehension study, the nature of the *why* question preempted a response beginning with *so*; there was a consequent reduction in the number of subordinated responses. The recall study provides a fairer test of the influence of this cue. The nature of the recall task does not stack the cards against the *so* cue by preempting a *so* response; it is reasonable to assume that a *so* response is equally as likely as a *because* response or an *uncued* response. The fact that other *cued* and *uncued* inputs were recalled as *so* inputs, indicates that it is a useful device for storing and

Table 10. Aided Recall of Causal Relations: Experiment 3—Input-Output Matrix

Form of the Response											
		Code	000	001	010	011	100	101	110	111	Error
Form of the Stimulus	Because	000	6	2	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
	So	001	2	6	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
	Because	010	1	—	6	—	—	—	—	—	1
	This was because	011	1	—	5	—	—	—	—	—	2
	and	100	2	2	—	—	1	1	—	—	2
	—	101	4	2	—	—	1	1	—	—	—
	and	110	2	1	3	—	—	—	1	—	1
	—	111	1	1	3	—	—	—	—	—	3
Total			19	19	17	0	2	2	1	0	9

recalling causal relations. In fact, it acted more like a subordinating form than a nonsubordinating form. Perhaps the view of traditional grammar (that *so* is a coordinating rather than a subordinating conjunction) is merely a grammatical convention. Psychologically it appears to be a subordinating conjunction.

One comment is necessary about the form 011 (*this was because*). The fact that there were no 011 outputs, not even from 011 inputs, indicates that the *this was* portion of the cue is superfluous. In fact, five of the eight 011 inputs were recalled as 010 outputs. The only difference between 010 and 011 is the insertion of a period and the inclusion of *this was*. Apparently that portion of the cue serves no function in memory and recall of causal relations.

The main conclusion to be drawn from the recall study is that, in order to store a causal relation, a subject virtually cannot help but store it in a unified, subordinated chunk. If he doesn't, he is just as likely to forget as he is to remember it. This finding provides strong evidence supporting the chunk model as a model of the psychology involved in processing verbal data. At least with respect to causality, people store data in unified rather than discrete units.

The small number of subjects used in the causal-recall experiment demands that it be replicated before too much credence is given to the results. It does, however, suggest an interesting hypothesis concerning children's strategies for storing semantic relations.

As an aside, one of the interesting outcomes from the aided recall study stemmed from the "dummy" items. "Dummy" statements (26) and (27) were often recalled in a form like (28), whereas "dummy" sentence (29) was seldom, if ever, recalled by any of the subjects. It is almost as if adjectival relations could be scaled on a compellingness-arbitrariness continuum. Arbitrary relations seem to serve an identification function, as in (29). Compelling relations seem to signal a more significant relation between the adjective and the noun, as in (27). The tallness of the man in (29) has little to do with the activity in the sentence; however, the anger of the bear in (27) is related to the activity.

- (26) The bear chased the man. The bear was angry. The man was frightened.
- (27) The angry bear chased the frightened man.
- (28) The bear chased the man because he (or it) was angry.
- (29) The tall man met the short woman.

In this connection, a study conducted by Myers (1967) provides confirming evidence. Myers asked subjects to choose paraphrases for sentences like:

- (30) The slavegirl loved the kind master.
- (31) The slavegirl loved the old master.
- (32) The slavegirl loved the master. The master was kind.
- (33) The slavegirl loved the master. The master was old.

When the elements within a sentence were highly related, as they are in (30) and (32), subjects tended to choose a paraphrase written in subordinated form, as in (34).

- (34) The slavegirl loved the master because the master (he) was kind.

However, when the elements were not highly related, as in (31) and (33), subjects tended to choose adjective or coordinated paraphrases (and), like (31) or (35).

- (35) The slavegirl loved the master, and the master was old.

All the causal sentences used in this study represented highly related units; all the effects were reasonable outcomes of the causes. Hence the tendency for nonsubordinated forms to be recalled in subordinated forms might well have been predicted from Myers' findings.

GENERAL DISCUSSION

With respect to the 3 theoretical positions outlined earlier—the readability hypothesis, the deep structure model, and the chunk model—the evidence favors the chunk model. Most of the data in the various experiments can be explained by the chunk model, while virtually none can be explained by the deep structure model or the readability hypothesis. This does not mean that the latter 2 positions are totally invalid, nor does it mean that the chunk model is a fully articulated psychological theory. The most reasonable conclusion is that, in general, any psychological model which attempts to explain the way in which verbal data are processed must begin with a semantic representation of the total relations involved rather than a syntactic description of the units which make up the relations. In short, some content must be put into the head before syntactic processing can occur. In this light, it will be interesting to examine the follow-up work of Bransford and Franks (1971) who seem to be attempting to develop a complete theory, accounting for perceptual as well as verbal phenomena.

The failure of the deep structure model to explain the present data says nothing at all about the validity of transformational-generative grammars as devices for representing the grammatical relations which occur in the language. There is no need whatever for a competence model (a model of an idealized speaker-hearer) to make any claims about a performance model (a model of real speakers, hearers, or readers). While it has been the hope of linguists and psychologists that a competence model would provide insight into the actual performance of language users, its failure to provide that insight does not, in principle, reduce its validity as a competence model. In short, a transformational grammar can serve as a powerful tool for generating all of the grammatical, but none of the ungrammatical, sentences of the language without making any claims about performance.

IMPLICATIONS

Pedagogically, the data lend no support to the recommendation that the difficulty of written discourse can be reduced by eliminating subordinating constructions or reducing sentence length. When the semantic relation is held constant and when the test question is relevant to the relation whose form is varied, either comprehension is equally efficient across forms or else the more

subordinated and longer sentence forms elicit better comprehension. The well documented correlation between sentence length and comprehension difficulty should be viewed in one of 2 ways: a) the relationship exists because longer sentences are communicating more complex semantic relations than shorter sentences, or b) the relationship is an artifact of test questions which have measured semantic relations whose form is constant across longer and shorter versions of a unit of discourse.

While any recommendations concerning the most efficient surface structure forms for presenting various semantic relations must be tempered by the limitations of the present sample and testing procedures, the present findings certainly support an easing of concern for sentence length and complexity in the middle grades. However, before more specific recommendations can be made regarding structural efficiency, research is needed to assess the influences of the variables used in this study when sentences occur in naturalistic passage contexts. But the fact remains that, at least in this study, children seem not only to be able to handle complexity, but to actually prefer it.

The fact that grammatically more complex or longer statements equal or outperform their simpler or shorter counterparts is not surprising. What happens can be explained as a tradeoff relationship between explicitness on one hand and simplicity on the other. The causal relationship in (36) is explicit. If one rewrites (36) as (37), he has reduced grammatical complexity and average sentence length, but he has placed a new inferential burden on the reader.

(36) Because the chain broke, the machine stopped.

(37) The chain broke. The machine stopped.

What was previously complex but explicit becomes simple but implicit. A similar analysis accounts for the subjects' performance on adjectival relations. One limitation of the present study in this regard is that the statements selected for inclusion in the causal experiments all represented quite natural and predictable causal relations within a child's experience. One wonders whether or not children would be able to infer any causal relation from statements like (38), where their experience would be less helpful in making the inference.

(38) The new king clamped down on public meetings. Many residents emigrated to a new land.

The possible implications for social science and science content, where the intent is often to present *new* causal relations, are quite serious.

FURTHER RESEARCH

There are several follow-up studies suggested by findings in this study. It would be enlightening, for example, to see what happens to comprehension when statements similar to those selected for the present study are placed in paragraph or passage contexts. It may well be that when a subject is confronted with a search task in

addition to a comprehension task, errors due to form are accentuated. The preliminary evidence from the Bormuth et al. study (Bormuth, Manning, Carr, and Pearson, 1970) would suggest that errors increase in contextual settings.

Second, the methodology used in this study could be applied to other classes of semantic relations, e.g., relations of adverseness (*however, although, in spite of*), time (*before, after, during, etc.*), purposiveness (*so that, in order to*), and conditionality (*if, once, provided that, unless*). This needs to be done to determine whether or not the conclusions regarding semantic cohesiveness are generalizable across a variety of verbal stimuli.

Third, traditional notions about readability should be reexamined. While the present study in no way suggests that readability formulas ought not to be used to predict the difficulty readers may encounter with particular passages, chapters, or books, it does suggest a new direction in research on readability. Studies need to be conducted in which different versions of a passage are constructed according to some rule-governed procedures, rather than according to the intuitions of the investigators. Furthermore, the questions used must be relevant to the structural changes which have been effected. In short, readability studies must begin with the question: What is the best way to communicate a given idea?

References

- Bormuth, John R. Readability: a new approach. *Reading Research Quarterly*, Spring 1966, 1, 79–132.
- Bormuth, John R.; Manning, John C.; Carr, Julian W.; & Pearson, P. David. Children's comprehension of between- and within-sentence syntactic structures. *Journal of Educational Psychology*, October 1970, 61, 349–357.
- Bransford, John, & Franks, Jeffrey. The abstraction of linguistic ideas. *Cognitive Psychology*, October 1971, 2, 331–350.
- Brown, James I. The Flesch formula. *Through the looking glass. College English*, April 1952, 7, 393–394.
- Coleman, E. B. The comprehensibility of several grammatical transformations. *Journal of Applied Psychology*, June 1964, 48, 186–190.
- Coleman, E. B. Learning of prose written in four grammatical transformations. *Journal of Applied Psychology*, October 1965, 49, 332–341.
- Flesch, Rudolf F. The science of making sense. *American Mercury*, 1945, 60, 194–197.
- Flesch, Rudolf F. *The art of plain talk*. New York: Harper and Brothers, 1946. (a)
- Flesch, Rudolf F. How to say what you mean. *Science Digest*, 1946, 20, 37–39. (b)
- Flesch, Rudolf F. *The AP writing handbook*. 1951.
- Fodor, J., & Garrett, M. Some reflections on competence and performance. In J. Lyons & R. J. Wales (Eds.) *Psycholinguistic papers*. Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1966.
- Gibbons, Helen D. Reading and sentence elements. *Elementary English Review*, February 1941, 18, 42–46.
- Gough, Phillip B. Grammatical transformations and speed of understanding. *Journal of Verbal Learning and Verbal Behavior*, 1965, 4, 107–111.
- Gray, W. S., & Leary, Bernice. *What makes a book readable*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1935.

- Hites, R. W. The relation of readability and format to retention in communication. Unpublished doctoral dissertation, Ohio State University, 1950. Cited by G. R. Klare, *The measurement of readability*. Ames, Iowa: The Iowa State University Press, 1963.
- Holland, B. F. The effect of length and structure of sentences on the silent reading process. Paper delivered at American Psychological Association annual meeting. Chicago, 1933.
- Klare, George R.; Shuford, Emir H.; & Nichols, William H. The relationship of style difficulty, practice, and ability to efficiency of reading and to retention. *Journal of Applied Psychology*, August 1957, 41, 222–226.
- Klare, George R. *The measurement of readability*. Ames, Iowa: The Iowa State University Press, 1963.
- Kueneman, H. A study of the effect of vocabulary changes on reading comprehension in a single field. Unpublished master's thesis. State University of Iowa, 1931. Cited by G. R. Klare, *The measurement of readability*. Ames, Iowa: The Iowa State University Press, 1963.
- Marshall, J. S. The relationship between readability and comprehension of high school physics textbooks. *Dissertation Abstracts*, 1957, 17, 64. (Abstract)
- Mehler, Jacques. Some effects of grammatical transformations on the recall of English sentences. *Journal of Verbal Learning and Verbal Behavior*, November 1963, 4, 748–762.
- Miller, George A. Some psychological studies of grammar. *American Psychologist*, November 1962, 11, 748–762.
- Miller, George A., Galanter, E.; & Pribram, K. *Plans and the structure of behavior*. New York: Holt, 1960.
- Miller, George A., & McKean, Kathryn. A chronometric study of some relations between sentences. *Quarterly Journal of Experimental Psychology*, November 1964, 16, Part 4, 297–308.
- Myers, William A. An experimental study of syntactic and semantic interaction. Unpublished doctoral dissertation, University of Minnesota, 1967.
- Nolte, Karl F. Simplification of vocabulary and comprehension in reading. *Elementary English Review*, April 1937, 4, 119–124.
- Orndorff, B. A. An experiment to show the effect of sentence length upon comprehension. Unpublished master's thesis, State University of Iowa, 1925. Cited by G. R. Klare, *The measurement of readability*. Ames, Iowa: The Iowa State University Press, 1963.
- Savin, Harris B. Grammatical structure and the immediate recall of English sentences: 2. Embedded clauses. Cited in J. Lyons & R. J. Wales (Eds.) *Psycholinguistics papers*. Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1966.
- Savin, Harris B., & Perchonock, Ellen. Grammatical structure and the immediate recall of English sentences. *Journal of Verbal Learning and Verbal Behavior*, October 1965, 5, 348–353.
- Winer, B. J. *Statistical principles in experimental design*. New York: McGraw Hill, 1962.
- Yngve, Victor H. Computer programs for translation. *Scientific American*, June 1962, 206, 68–76.
- Yngve, Victor H. A model and hypothesis for language structure. *Proceedings of the American Philosophical Association*, 1960, 404, 444–446.

P. David Pearson is currently a professor of language, literacy, and culture in the Graduate School of Education at the University of California, Berkeley. Professor Pearson can be reached at ppearson@berkeley.edu.

Revisiting the Role of Explicit Genre Instruction in the Classroom

KATHERINE K. FRANKEL, UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA, BERKELEY

ABSTRACT

At the end of the twentieth century, genre theorists and practitioners debated the possibility of explicitly teaching genres in classrooms. Though the debate is decades old, it continues to be relevant to contemporary discussions about literacy instruction because it addresses questions about how to provide all students with access to genres of power. In this article, I highlight one example of explicit genre instruction in Australia that is particularly noteworthy for its critical and dialogic aspects, and then make connections between this approach and similar theoretical and pedagogical work in the United States. I conclude with a discussion of some of the implications for pedagogy that are derived from my analysis.

INTRODUCTION

In this article, I revisit a debate about the viability of the explicit teaching of genres in the classroom that came to the fore in the 1990s when a group of prominent North American genre theorists entered into a dialogue with Australian theorists and practitioners. I argue that as a result of this debate between the North American and Australian perspectives, the critical and dialogic aspects of the Australian approach to genre pedagogy were overlooked. This oversight is significant because the Australian approach is rooted in a commitment to engaging students, particularly those who have been underserved by their schools, in teaching and learning activities that encourage critical awareness of and access to genres of power. This commitment to critical and dialogic pedagogy is as relevant today as it was then; it is especially relevant to contemporary discussions about literacy education in the United States.

My intent in this article is not to provide a comprehensive review of the vast field of genre theory, research, and practice. This momentous task has already been accomplished by numerous scholars (e.g., Bawarshi & Reiff, 2010; Hyon, 1996; Johns, 2002). Most recently, Bawarshi and Reiff set out to “examine genre historically, theoretically, and pedagogically” (p. 8) in their book, *Genre: An Introduction to History, Theory, Research, and Pedagogy* and proposed a set of four traditions (literary, linguistic, rhetorical and sociological, and Rhetorical Studies) to categorize the field of genre theory and practice. Previous discussions of different theoretical approaches to genre identified three traditions: The Sydney School (Australian), New Rhetoric (North American), and English for Specific Purposes (Hyon, 1996; Johns, 2002). In this article, I

discuss genre in terms of the two perspectives that contributed most directly to the debate over explicit instruction in the 1990s: The Sydney School (Australian) and New Rhetoric (North American) perspectives. However, I am aware of the many influential genre scholars—in the English for Specific Purposes tradition, particularly—whose work I omit through this decision (e.g., Berkenkotter & Huckin, 1995; Bhatia, 1993, 2004; Hyland, 2004; Johns, 1997; Paltridge, 2001; Swales, 1990; Tardy, 2009).

I begin this article with an overview of Australian genre theory and its foundational critiques. Then, I draw from the works of Bourdieu (1977, 1982) and Bakhtin (1981, 1986) in order to demonstrate the ways in which one instantiation of explicit genre instruction—Cope and Kalantzis’ (1993b) explicit pedagogy for inclusion and access—is rooted in a commitment to fostering both critical and dialogic instructional spaces for students who have been underserved by their schools. I use this theoretical framework to draw parallels between Cope and Kalantzis’ pedagogy and the theoretical and pedagogical work of Delpit (2006) and Lee (2001) in the United States. I conclude by highlighting some of the implications for practice that stem from my analysis of the work of Cope and Kalantzis, Delpit, and Lee.

AUSTRALIAN GENRE THEORY

Australian genre theory and its corresponding pedagogy arose in the 1980s as part of a social justice movement rooted in the belief that all students, particularly those who are underserved by their schools, deserve access to the genres of power that will help them to excel in school and beyond. Cope and Kalantzis (1993a) explain that its proponents situated genre-based pedagogy between the equally problematic traditional and progressivist approaches to teaching and learning, and they advocate for the development of a metalanguage, or “a language with which to make generalizations about language” (p. 8), in the classroom in order to better serve marginalized student populations in Australia. Distinct from the progressivist trend, which sought to teach the whole child in a comprehensive but less specific manner, genre-based pedagogy highlights the continuing importance of grammar as a metalanguage through which to explicitly connect a text’s structure with its purpose. Equally distinct from the more traditional, formal approach, genre theorists argue that metalanguage must be explained in terms of social purpose.

While Australian genre theorists often have been considered, and critiqued, as a single entity, the differences between them are as essential to an understanding of genre as their similarities. Cope

and Kalantzis (1993a) provide a succinct summary of these similarities and differences in their introduction to *The Powers of Literacy*, a compilation of many of the primary voices engaged in discussions about Australian genre pedagogy in the early 1990s. They explain,

For all the authors of this book, genre is a category that describes the relation of the social purpose of text to language structure. It follows that in learning literacy, students need to analyze critically the different social purposes that inform patterns of regularity in language—the whys and the hows of textual conventionality, in other words. Beyond this the book deliberately sets out to represent a variety of different theories which attempt to describe what is in genre and how genre literacy pedagogy might be realised more effectively. (p. 2)

While all Australian theorists might agree that genre lies at the intersection of textual product and social purpose, the way in which these two components of genre were prioritized led to different pedagogical applications. At the risk of creating a new dichotomy, in this section, I separate these approaches into two categories—genre as *textual product* and genre as *social process*—and explore some of the essential differences between the Australian theorists. However, it is important that these categories be viewed not in opposition to each other but, instead, as a dialogue in which different voices place more or less emphasis on product and social process in the attempt to realize effective, genre-based pedagogical practices in the classroom.

Theoretical Framework: M. A. K. Halliday and Systemic Functional Linguistics

Different emphases aside, the variations on Australian genre theory arose from a common linguistic framework initially articulated by Halliday (1978) through his notion of Systemic Functional Linguistics. Halliday's framework is built upon the understanding that any text is contextualized within a particular environment, and that text's interaction with and influence on its environment leads to social action. Texts transmit culture because the situation of any text within a particular environment activates its meaning. Halliday describes a text's context of situation as the combination of its social action (field), role structure/relationships (tenor), and symbolic organization (mode).

Systemic Functional Linguistics has been applied to pedagogy in a variety of ways in Australia and elsewhere, but Halliday (1978) himself articulates some of the pedagogical implications of his theories of language in his discussion of the program *Breakthrough to Literacy* (Mackay, Thompson, & Schaub, 1973), which, he notes, places great emphasis on building continuity between students' own languages and the standard language of schooling, particularly in relation to reading and writing. He explains the underlying instructional approach in this way:

We start from what children can do with language, which is already a great deal by the time they come to school; and

from what they cannot yet do but are learning to do with language, as well as what they will need to learn to do with it in order to succeed in school and in life. (p. 205)

Halliday's pedagogical vision in *Breakthrough to Literacy* foregrounds the concerns about social justice that underlie all of the pedagogical applications of Systemic Functional Linguistics that were introduced earlier. Though Halliday does not make explicit reference to the work of his contemporary Basil Bernstein (1971) in this description, as he does elsewhere, his argument about the importance of building continuity between a student's own language and the standard language of schooling was shaped by Bernstein's theories about linguistic codes, or strategies of language use. Specifically, Bernstein distinguishes between *restricted code*, where social relations depend on shared identifications, expectations, and common assumptions, and *elaborated code*, where the emphasis is on the individual ("I") over the collective ("we"). Building on Bernstein's argument that there is discontinuity when students come to school with linguistic codes that are different from those that are necessary for success in school, Halliday writes,

Where children are likely to suffer is where there is a relative lack of continuity between their native culture and that of the school, because the values of the school, and the meanings that are typically exchanged, may be remote from and in certain ways opposed to the values and the habits of meaning that are familiar to them. But this makes it all the more important to emphasize what continuity there is, by starting from what is common knowledge to all. It is reasonable to suppose that the greater the cultural gap (as things are) between the out-of-school and the in-school environment of a child, the more important it is to make explicit the positive qualities of the out-of-school environment and to build on them in the teaching process; if this is true in general, then nowhere is it more particularly applicable than in the realm of language. (p. 209)

Though Australian genre theorists emphasize different components of Systemic Functional Linguistics in their own pedagogical applications of Halliday's theories of language, what they share is a commitment to social justice rooted in the belief that explicit instruction is an essential component of pedagogical approaches that seek to provide students with the linguistic codes that are necessary for success in school.

Genre as Textual Product

Proponents of an approach to genre that emphasizes textual product over social process focus their attention on Halliday's notions of field, tenor, and mode in order to categorize texts into specific genres. While Halliday (1978) identifies these combined elements as the text's register, this approach discusses them simply in terms of genre. It is important to note the two different uses of the term "genre" in relation to Halliday's context of situation. While Halliday situates genre as a subset of mode, later theorists define genre

as the interplay of field, tenor, and mode. Thus, genre in these terms is more closely aligned with Halliday's conception of register than it is with his notion of genre. According to Martin, Christie, and Rothery (1987), in this interpretation, genre is

a staged, goal oriented social process . . . Genres are referred to as *social processes* because members of a culture interact with each other to achieve them; as *goal oriented* because they have evolved to get things done; and as *staged* because it usually takes more than one step for participants to achieve their goals. (p. 59)

Despite this proclaimed emphasis on social process, pedagogy that follows such an approach can rely on the establishment of specific textual markers that coincide with a particular genre.

The identification of a genre by the textual markers that reflect its register assumed a specific pedagogical form in the teaching-learning cycle (see Cope & Kalantzis, 1993a, p. 11). This cycle is represented through the curriculum wheel, which is comprised of three primary teaching and learning components: (a) modeling, which establishes the context or social function of the genre, as well as its textual features; (b) joint negotiation of text in which the teacher and students jointly construct a new text in the same genre; and (c) independent construction of text in which the students create a new text in the same genre through independent work. The last steps in this third component include teacher and peer consultations, critical evaluation of success, and creative exploitation of the learned genre.

Also drawing from Halliday's (1978) notions of field, tenor, and mode, Macken and Slade (1993) propose a genre-based approach to assessment that, like the curriculum wheel, relies heavily on textual markers. As an alternative to standardized multiple-choice tests, Macken and Slade call for a new approach to writing assessment that is linguistically principled, explicit, and criteria specific. While they advocate for an approach to assessment that involves a more contextualized view of language and highlight their belief that "genre is the 'why' of a text" (p. 212), their proposed approach to assessment inevitably focuses on the product over the social process. By assessing writing based on a matrix evaluation that looks at genre (purpose), field (what), tenor (who), and mode (how), they propose to assess writing in a more contextualized fashion. In practice, however, such an approach becomes problematic if assessors do not have a deep understanding of the genre in question; therefore, those who use assessments based on this model can easily fall into the trap of rewarding texts that abide by fixed genre structures as identified by textual markers.

The curriculum cycle and its corresponding assessment models were the basis for several different pedagogical projects in Australia that attempted to provide all students with access to genres of power through explicit instruction. While the curriculum cycle maintained fidelity to Halliday's (1978) functional view of grammar, its heavily linguistic nature proved somewhat problematic in pedagogical application. Consequently, it was criticized, both explicitly and implicitly, as overly simplistic and problematic in

practice (Berkenkotter & Huckin, 1993; Callaghan, Knapp & Noble, 1993; Cope & Kalantzis, 1993a; Dixon, 1987; Freedman & Medway, 1994; Kress, 1993; Sawyer & Watson, 1987). Particularly problematic for pedagogy based on this model was the fact that, through its concern with complex grammatical labeling, it did not necessarily allow for a more critical approach to genre in which students are encouraged to analyze, evaluate, and manipulate genres in the context of their specific social purposes. While the possibility of oversimplification and a corresponding stagnancy is no doubt a possibility—and therefore a legitimate criticism of the curriculum cycle—it is important to note that proponents of the curriculum cycle did not advocate for instruction in formal generic structures independent of meaning, or within a fixed framework (Christie, 1987; Martin et al., 1987). To the contrary, they held that meaning and flexibility are crucial components of an approach to genre instruction that seeks to provide non-mainstream students with access to the academic curriculum.

Genre as Social Process

Concerned with the dangers inherent in a pedagogy that favors product over social process, some genre theorists began to more actively prioritize the social process component of genre pedagogy. Kress (1987, 1993), for example, advocates for an approach to language that emphasizes its cultural and social dimensions. This renewed emphasis on social process reflects Kress' own academic shift in focus from applied linguistics to communication and cultural studies. Although he played an integral role in the creation of a genre-based pedagogy in Australia, he grew increasingly concerned with the dangers of an overly text-based approach. Thus, Kress distinguishes himself from Martin and his colleagues (Martin et al., 1987) by unequivocally privileging social process over textual product. Nonetheless, in his conception of genre, Kress continues to stress the importance of the text. Of particular concern for him is the text's social origin and function, the conventional aspects of which help to identify it as belonging to a particular genre. In this way, the genre-as-social-action method looks at these conventions, in conjunction with the social situations that produce them, as conveyers of meaning.

Addressing concerns about the habitus (Bourdieu, 1977) before Luke (1994, 1995) articulated them in his challenge to genre theorists a year later, Kress (1993) contemplates the danger of "generically strong texts," where the "stability and repeatability of that social situation lead to texts with a similar stability, with a marked conventionality, which in the end makes the text seem simply natural and makes its constructedness unnoticeable" (p. 27). In anticipation of the future work of theorists who focus on the ideological implications of genre, Kress outlines the ways in which he believes genre work must be extended in a new language curriculum. Central to his conception of such a curriculum is a focus on all facets of literacy—reading as well as writing—in combination with an understanding of the various genres and inherent social structures present in all languages of society. Kress warns that, if these goals are not met, "the powerful genres of the

dominant cultural group(s) will be taught in an unreflecting fashion as if they were a politically, socially and ideologically neutral set of forms, as a kind of universal commonsense" (p. 31). Kress' vision is to teach students about textual forms as products of social factors, thus encouraging critical analyses of the underlying social contexts in which genres are created.

In contrast to the more text-heavy framework of the curriculum cycle, in Kress' (1993) view, genre is just one of the many components that define a register. By reconsidering genre in this way, Kress aligns his definition of genre with Halliday's (1978) original conception of genre as a subset of register. According to Kress, other components that contribute to the existence of different register types include dialect, cultural textual type (report, narrative, etc.), mode, discourse, plot, and character. Kress contends that his conception of genre allows for a more fluid and historical approach to generic form, and it has implications for a less authoritarian transmission of knowledge from teacher to student.

Callaghan and his colleagues (1993) attempt to apply Kress' (1993) insights to a new version of the teaching-learning curriculum cycle. In keeping with the genre as social process framework, they propose a revised genre-based pedagogy that places emphasis on social process over textual product. Of particular concern to Callaghan and his colleagues is the fact that the wheel model is difficult to translate into effective practice. More specifically, through an example of its implementation in a lesson on the greenhouse effect, the authors demonstrate how the practice of teacher scribing (where the teacher assumes the role of scribe as the class jointly constructs a new text) is disturbingly reminiscent of traditional reproduction pedagogies, and how joint negotiation is difficult to implement in diverse classrooms where learning and meaning are not necessarily sites for negotiation.

In light of these problems, and with a renewed emphasis on Kress' (1993) call for a more flexible conception of genre, Callaghan and his colleagues (1993) propose a new pedagogical model of genre instruction. This new model differs from the original teaching-learning curriculum cycle in several key ways. First, it is multigeneric in that it relies on instruction in more than one genre in order to teach content-area information thoroughly. For example, Callaghan and his colleagues explain that the genres of describing, explaining, and arguing all are incorporated into their model unit in an effort to move away from teaching text types and to focus more on the relationship between knowledge, text, and grammar. In addition, this revised model focuses on learning through the student's own writing, rather than relying on teacher scribing as one of the primary instructional tools. Thus, this model incorporates genre into all aspects of teaching and learning rather than relegating it solely to discussions based on the end product. While perhaps less overtly problematic than the curriculum wheel, this new teaching and learning as social process model only limitedly addressed Kress' call for a new approach to genre pedagogy, as it did not take into account the social implications of genre or investigate its connection to power relations.

Cope and Kalantzis' Explicit Pedagogy for Inclusion and Access

The critical components of Kress' (1993) social process theory, specifically the social implications of genre and its connection to power relations, form the foundation of Cope and Kalantzis' (1993b) explicit pedagogy for inclusion and access. This approach to pedagogy emphasizes the need for a critical perspective on genre, one that incorporates dialogue and active learning and highlights the importance of creativity. One example of this type of explicit pedagogy is the Social Literacy Project (Cope, Kalantzis, Kress, Martin, & Murphy, 1993), in which inclusion and access are central concerns. Cope and Kalantzis are careful to point out, however, that an explicit pedagogy of this nature "is not the same as an enforced cultural assimilation which teaches the use of alien social tongues for social purposes" because "learning the grammar of the written genres of power is not just a matter of internalising dominant discourses. It also provides the tools for discourse critique, for understanding the ideological loadings in language" (p. 85). Grammar, then, is an integral component of the Social Literacy Project, and Cope and Kalantzis' use of it maintains some fidelity to Halliday's (1978) functional approach. Unlike the use of grammar in other models, however, in this case,

grammar is a basis for making social and linguistic connections; for revealing the social and constructed nature of discourses which make ideologies seem natural. It is a way of making conscious the unconscious. Learning genres is just as much a process of unlearning their ideological effects, as it is one of mastering their technologies. (p. 86)

Put differently, literacy is a means through which to develop a theoretically informed metalanguage that serves to promote further literacy development and, also, to denaturalize the ideologies embedded in all genres.

The explicit pedagogy for inclusion and access outlined by Cope and Kalantzis (1993b) centers on two primary goals: (a) to explicitly deconstruct and critique dominant discourses and (b) to prepare students for life in a world of cultural diversity. These goals are realized through four primary principles: (a) classroom discourse is a dialogue between the culture of schooling and the many different cultures of the students; through dialogue, difference is no longer a barrier but a means through which to access genres of power; (b) as professionals, teachers assume an authoritative, not authoritarian, role in the classroom; (c) explicit scaffolding of individual lessons and explicit structuring of the curriculum are foundational premises of an explicit pedagogy for inclusion and access; and (d) long-term educational motivation stems from social access without prejudice. The goal is for students to use their knowledge of genre and grammar to find their own voices, "not within genres, but across, between and around genres" (p. 89).

While this more comprehensive approach to genre-based pedagogy is an attractive alternative to models that fail to address the ideological implications of teaching genres of power, the same possibility of oversimplification exists. The explicit curriculum

scaffolding in the Social Literacy Project (Cope et al., 1993), for example, involves six steps: (a) a focus question that orients students to the problem at hand, (b) an input step that introduces text, (c) an analysis step, (d) a main idea step in which the problems raised in previous steps are discussed and labeled explicitly, (e) an application step, and (f) an evaluation step in which the students and teacher revisit the focus question. The theoretical framework for the six steps is quite comprehensive, but the omission of just a few steps—for example, the focus question and analysis and evaluation steps—oversimplifies the approach tremendously. It is perhaps this danger, common to all attempts to translate complex theories into practice, that resulted in the sweeping criticisms of Australian genre theory as a whole. While Australian genre theorists differ in their conceptions and adaptations of genre theory into practice, they agree on the importance of translating theory into pedagogy through explicit instruction. And in this translation lies the very real threat of oversimplification.

FOUNDATIONAL CRITIQUES OF AUSTRALIAN GENRE THEORY

A foundational premise of North American genre theory—a premise, some argue, that distinguishes it from Australian genre theory—is its emphasis on rhetorical action as a distinguishing characteristic of genre. Miller (1984), for example, argues for a “rhetorically sound” (p. 151) definition of genre that is centered on the action it is used to accomplish, not on the substance or form of its discourse. Similar to Kress (1993), Miller argues that other scholars have fallen short of a complete conception of genre by failing to take situation into account as a defining factor of genre, instead relying on taxonomic systems to define it. Like Kress, she explains that this reliance on strict categories is particularly problematic because such delineations do not promote a flexible system capable of accommodating the many variations in genre. According to Miller, a concrete definition of genre is necessary, but it must promote an open system in order to account for variation. Miller speculates on the pedagogical implications of her conceptualization by suggesting that learning a genre involves more than learning a pattern of forms or methods of achieving a goal. Yet, she also observes that, “for the student, genres serve as keys to understanding how to participate in the actions of a community” (p. 165). Miller does not, however, explore what such a genre-based pedagogy might entail.

Freedman (1994), on the other hand, brings genre theory and pedagogy into direct dialogue in her essay “‘Do As I Say’: The Relationship between Teaching and Learning New Genres.” In this essay, an earlier version of which appeared in *Research in the Teaching of English* as “Show and Tell? The Role of Explicit Teaching in the Learning of New Genres” (Freedman, 1993), Freedman interrogates the underlying assumption of genre-based pedagogy that teaching genres explicitly benefits students. Freedman offers two related arguments in this essay, one in the form of a strong hypothesis and the other as a restricted hypothesis. Her strong hypothesis,

in which she asserts that “explicit teaching is not necessary in the acquisition of genres” (p. 195), is only slightly qualified in the restricted version. From these hypotheses, she concludes that a true understanding of genre comes only from immersion in a specific discourse community. By restricting genre acquisition to authentic discourse communities, Freedman seems to assume that such a restriction precludes any discussion about the possibility for the teaching and learning of genres in the classroom.

Freedman (1994) also calls into question approaches to genre that place emphasis on textual forms. She contends that the textual features that are at the core of genre-based pedagogy arise as a result of the rhetorical action of a particular genre; therefore, these textual markers are entirely context dependant. It follows that teaching textual features independently of context is problematic because this approach inevitably falls prey to an emphasis on form. Unlike Miller (1984), however, Freedman does not address the possibility of a pedagogical approach to genre that encompasses discussions of both its text-, context-, and purpose-based elements.

Instead, and as an alternative to explicit teaching, Freedman (1994) advocates for an approach to formal instruction in the classroom that shapes the process of genre acquisition. According to Freedman, shaping assumes many different forms. Notably, she points to Rogoff’s (1990) guided participation, and Bruner’s (1978) and Cazden’s (1979) scaffolding—two pedagogical techniques that most often are associated with explicit teaching (see, for example, Lee, 2001, discussed below)—as examples of alternatives to explicit instruction. Guided participation and scaffolding are grounded in Vygotskian (1978) theories of learning and development. They were designed to help teachers create instructional spaces through which they could work collaboratively with their students to build bridges from known to new information in an apprenticeship model of learning (see Byrnes, 2006, and Wells, 1999, for discussions of the theoretical parallels between Halliday’s and Vygotsky’s theories of language-based learning).

Freedman (1994) stresses that shaping requires that teachers set up “facilitative environments” (p. 200) in which to foster the adoption of new genres. How these environments differ from classrooms in which explicit teaching occurs, however, is unclear. In her limited hypothesis, Freedman draws from Ellis’s (1986, 1990) work on second language acquisition, and particularly his model of instructed acquisition, to suggest that explicit instruction might indeed be useful under very specific circumstances in which the learner already is engaged in authentic tasks. However, her conclusions that all genre acquisition must occur in context and that, in most cases, explicit instruction is harmful to the student, operate under the assumption that teachers are unable to foster “facilitative environments” in the classroom due to the impossibility of creating a truly authentic context.

Freedman (1994) concludes her argument by locating a critical approach to genre in the act of performing that genre in writing. While Freedman’s conclusion—that reflective knowledge and consciousness of different genres only occurs through the act of

writing—is sound, it does not follow that explicit teaching cannot be part of the practice of writing. Freedman explains that

critical consciousness becomes possible only *through* the performance: full genre knowledge (in all its subtlety and complexity) only becomes available *as a result of having written*. First comes the achievement or performance, with the tacit knowledge implied, and then, through that, the meta-awareness which can flower into conscious reflective knowledge. (p. 206; author's emphasis)

Freedman's conclusion is compelling, though it is unclear how the development of consciousness through performance automatically precludes the possibility of incorporating explicit genre instruction into the process. Additionally, Freedman's assertion that genre acquisition results only from performance in authentic contexts does not leave a space from which to discuss genre acquisition in the classroom other than for academic purposes.

Her conclusions, therefore, give rise to some essential questions. The danger of genre oversimplification that Freedman (1994) notes in her argument against explicit instruction is real enough, but must this danger preclude all explicit discussions of genre in the classroom? Further, if critical consciousness only occurs through authentic performance, does this mean that students in the classroom cannot engage in such critical reflection? Finally, if this is the case, then what is the goal of literacy education?

Freedman's (1994) argument against explicit instruction and subsequent work that suggests that genre learning in the classroom is not transferable to the workplace (Freedman & Adam, 1996) leaves little possibility for a discussion of genre-based pedagogy in any form. Though some scholars have sought to move past Freedman's conclusions, at least at the postsecondary level (e.g., Devitt, 2004; Johns, 1997), the dichotomy still exists through the promotion of the concept of genre as social action as necessarily opposed to approaches to genre that also consider textual form. Critics like Freedman point out the very real danger of falling into a pattern of uncritical replication of fixed genres through explicit teaching, and while such teaching undoubtedly exists in the implementation of genre-based pedagogy, it does not follow that the Australian genre project should be dismissed off hand. By failing to move past a critique of genre theories that take into account textual markers in a critical fashion, critics oversimplify and, thus, efface the more complex contributions of Australian theorists.

In his role as series editor of *Genre and the New Rhetoric*, Freedman and Medway's (1994) compilation of essays that comprise the North American response to Australian genre theory, Luke (1994) foreshadows his later criticism of Australian genre pedagogy (Luke, 1995) when he "shift[s] the genre of the introduction a bit sideways" (p. vii) by calling for more critical approaches to future genre work. The effect of Luke's introduction and his later critique was to change the focus of the conversation by moving away from past pedagogical concerns and toward a new conception of genre. This approach did not leave a space from which to pursue the original debate over explicit genre instruction; as a result, Cope and

Kalantzis' (1993b) explicit pedagogy for inclusion and access—an important example of why explicit instruction is essential and how it can be implemented effectively—was lost when the conversation shifted.

By simultaneously addressing both the conversations about genre that prompted his challenge and the conversations that ultimately would follow it, Luke (1994) highlights the importance of dialogue in the movement toward ever more complex and culturally relevant pedagogy. By overtly rendering the dispute over whether or not to explicitly teach genres in the classroom irrelevant, Luke's contribution served to upset the dichotomy developing between the Australian and North American perspectives on genre. Luke's redirection of genre studies demanded that future work look more critically at the accessibility of different types of texts and how this access contributes to power.

From the perspective of ideology and power, Luke (1994) argues, theories of genre cannot be sorted into one school of thought over another. More specifically, the purportedly objective genre-as-textual-product approach often attributed to Australian theorists no longer stands in stark contrast to the more subjective, genre as social action conceptions generally held by North American theorists. As Luke indicates, such a dichotomy is unproductive and even dangerous in its failure to consider the social, cultural, ideological, and political consequences of an uncritical approach to genre studies, one that threatens to re-naturalize the very genres that explicit instruction aims to de-naturalize.

Luke's (1994) call for a more critical approach to genre studies has been answered in a variety of ways in recent years. While Luke himself continued to grapple with the implications of genre and power in his later work (Luke, 1995), other scholars answered his call through work that considers the role of genre in power relations, ideology, and identity formation (Bazerman, 2002; Coe, Lingard, & Teslenko, 2002; Ivanič, 1998; Paré, 2002; Schryer, 2002). Luke's critique, therefore, served to identify several important factors that were effaced in the opposition of North American and Australian schools of thought. However, while Luke's challenge is important, it does not address or attempt to solve the pedagogical problem of explicit genre instruction in elementary and secondary classrooms.

More specifically, in this new direction for genre studies, Cope and Kalantzis' (1993b) explicit pedagogy for inclusion and access often is not discussed. In fact, Cope and Kalantzis (2000a, 2000b, 2009) moved away from the genre discussion at the same time that Luke (1994, 1995) was grappling with these questions of power. In September 1994, Cope and Kalantzis met with a larger group of literacy and language scholars (among them Courtney Cazden, Norman Fairclough, James Paul Gee, Gunther Kress, Allan Luke, Carmen Luke, Sarah Michaels, and Martin Nakata) in New London, New Hampshire, to discuss the future of literacy teaching and learning. Their ensuing discussions culminated in a 1996 *Harvard Educational Review* article in which the self-described "New London Group" (1996) outlines a pedagogy of multiliteracies to address the current and future needs of students in a changing

world. Significantly, their vision for a new pedagogy, while certainly expanding on ideas that formed the foundation of the argument in favor of explicit instruction, hardly mentions genre, at least not in so many words.

**BUILDING A THEORETICAL METALANGUAGE:
THEORETICAL AND PEDAGOGICAL IMPLICATIONS**

Perhaps as a result of the fact that Cope and Kalantzis's (1993b) earlier genre work focuses particularly on pedagogy, and therefore does not incorporate many of the theories from which later genre theorists draw in order to conceptualize genre, their explicit pedagogy for inclusion and access often is not referenced in contemporary dialogues about literacy instruction. By investigating the ways in which Cope and Kalantzis echo but do not explicitly draw from the theories of Bourdieu (1977, 1982) and Bakhtin (1981, 1986) in their description of an explicit pedagogy for inclusion and access, however, it is possible to reconsider their contribution to the field through an emphasis on its critical and dialogic nature.

In this section, I highlight the critical and dialogic aspects of Cope and Kalantzis' (1993b) explicit pedagogy for inclusion and access and then consider some of the important pedagogical implications of their approach by linking it to the work of Delpit (2006) and Lee (2001) in the United States.

The Critical and Dialogic Aspects of Explicit Genre Instruction

The explicit pedagogy for inclusion and access outlined by Cope and Kalantzis (1993b) centers on two primary goals: (a) to explicitly deconstruct and critique dominant discourses and (b) to prepare students for life in a world of cultural diversity. Bourdieu (1977, 1982) and his notion of the habitus provide a useful framework for contemplating the first objective, while Bakhtin's (1981, 1986) discussion of the utterance and dialogism are fitting access points from which to view the second aim. (I am not the first to make theoretical connections of this kind; see, for example, Hanks, 1996, who integrates concepts of field, habitus, and genre in order to articulate a unit of analysis—the discourse genre—to describe communicative practices.)

Dissatisfied with the traditional opposition of notions of subjectivity and objectivity, Bourdieu (1977, 1982) introduced the habitus as a way to alleviate this problematic dichotomy. As defined by Bourdieu, the habitus is an internalized set of structures derived from pre-existing external structures that determine how an individual acts in and reacts to the world. The habitus generates practices, perceptions, and attitudes that appear to be regular without being consciously coordinated or governed by rules. In this way, the habitus acts as a naturalizing agent. Culturally specific ways of living and doing are not readily visible to individuals; therefore, what is socially constructed appears to be natural.

According to Hanks (1996), "genres . . . are a key part of the habitus" because "through routine use, genres become natural themselves, that is, they become so familiar as to be taken for granted" (p. 246). One way for teachers to provide their students

with access to the genres of power that, often, are not part of the students' habitus is by developing what Cope and Kalantzis (1993b) call a theoretical metalanguage through which to discuss power structures and their relations to genres and, in so doing, challenge their naturalization. Cope and Kalantzis address this necessity directly through a pedagogy that approaches literacy from a theoretical perspective. By teaching grammar as a theory of language, they argue, it is possible to deconstruct dominant discourses by developing a metalanguage for social access. They explain,

Literate discourses, in a nice twist, can give us access to metalinguistic tools with which to unpack the ideological baggage of literate discourse, the social and political loadings in literate text. The deceptively ideological and incisive modes in literate discourses are complementary elements in a single project: the power of literacy and the literacy of power. (p. 76)

From this view, merely performing writing as Freedman (1994) argues is not sufficient to acquire a critical understanding of genre. Instead, it is through a combination of thinking explicitly about genre and performing it that students develop a theory of language that, in turn, provides critical access to dominant discourses. In this way, theories of language that help students identify genres of power act as tools to critically interrogate, negotiate, and access discourses of power.

As Halliday (1978) explains in his own pedagogical vision, these tools are particularly important—even essential—for students who do not operate within the dominant habitus to be successful in school. These students

need to be exposed to learning experiences in which they work their way through explicit analysis of generic features, critical appraisal of the social function of the genre, and then writing in that genre. This means that teachers have a lot more to do than simply make space for the students' voices. (Cope & Kalantzis, 1993b, p. 85)

In Cope and Kalantzis view, it is the responsibility of the school to provide students with the tools necessary to identify and access genres into which they are not automatically socialized in their lives outside the classroom. By developing a theory of language through which to make the habitus visible, and then critically analyzing and evaluating it, students not only obtain the tools necessary to access genres of power, but also to negotiate a world of cultural diversity.

The second aim, to provide students with an understanding of cultural diversity, is informed at both a theoretical and practical level by Bakhtin's discussion of speech genres and their dialogic nature. In "The Problem of Speech Genres," Bakhtin (1986) describes an utterance as consisting of three aspects—thematic content, style, and compositional structure. These aspects are determined by the "sphere of communication" (p. 60), or speech genre, in which the utterance occurs. Speech genres occur in primary (or simple) and secondary (or complex) forms; their use is

practical in that communication would be virtually impossible without them. Furthermore, Bakhtin contends that speech genres are not individual. That is, while an individual may manipulate and re-accentuate speech genres, an individual cannot create them (see Hasan, 1992, and Martin, 1993, for discussions about the compatibility of Halliday's and Bakhtin's theories of genre).

Although North American genre theorists draw on Bakhtin (1986) as a way to distinguish themselves from the Australians by looking at genre in context and as social action, Cope and Kalantzis' (1993b) pedagogical vision parallels Bakhtin's conception of the utterance and speech genres in significant ways. Before discussing these parallels, however, it is important to note one important difference. While Bakhtin does not distinguish between spoken and written genres, Cope and Kalantzis do make this distinction as part of the social justice mission that is at the core of their pedagogy. That is, they pay particular attention to written genres because of the crucial role that they play in school success.

Despite this point of contrast, which nonetheless is significant in that it forms the basis for Cope and Kalantzis' (1993b) pedagogy for inclusion and access, the ways in which they implement their vision adhere to other Bakhtinian notions of genre. Cope and Kalantzis advocate for an approach to genre that combines both instruction and application. Reminiscent of Bakhtin's assertion that individuals may manipulate and re-accentuate genres but not create them, Cope and Kalantzis observe that "genres are learnt by some form of copying" (p. 67). Because genres are learned from others, it follows that genres are not neutral and are always infiltrated with the meanings and understanding of others. Bakhtin (1986) clarifies the idea of the meaningful utterance when he distinguishes between neutral words and sentences and the authored utterance, and explains that, "emotion, evaluation, and expression are foreign to the word of language and are born only in the process of its live usage in a concrete utterance" (p. 87). An individual's authored utterance originates in the assimilation of the words of another's utterance. Thus, by discussing and modeling genres with students and then providing them with the space through which to perform and execute the genre independently, Cope and Kalantzis' pedagogical vision acknowledges the Bakhtinian notion that utterances are always and already populated with the meanings of others. For students who do not have access to these genres outside of school, introducing them in the classroom context is critical in order to provide the opportunity to creatively explore and manipulate them in their own writing. Making the meanings and understandings imbedded in genres explicit by considering the context in which they are used and the grammar they employ to achieve a particular purpose is an important step to providing students with access to these genres.

Finally, Bakhtin's (1981) conception of dialogism also helps to inform Cope and Kalantzis' (1993b) mission, not only to execute a genre-based pedagogy in the classroom, but also, to promote and use diversity as a means of access. In "Discourse in the Novel," Bakhtin (1981) uses the novel as a platform from which to express concern over past tendencies to separate style and language from

genre. He explains that such a separation emphasizes individual and abstract elements of an utterance over critical, social ones. These social elements exist in the novel through its heteroglossic nature, in which the centripetal (unifying) and centrifugal (dividing) forces of language meet. Bakhtin explains that rooted in ideology are the notions of linguistic unification and centralization that occur through the centripetal forces of language. However, such a unified conception of language cannot escape the centrifugal forces of language, which constantly work toward decentralization and disunification. He writes, "Every utterance participates in the 'unitary language' (in its centripetal forces and tendencies) and at the same time partakes of social and historical heteroglossia (the centrifugal, stratifying forces)" (p. 272). A key component of an individual's discourse is his assimilation of the words of others. This process of assimilation is "the ideological becoming of a human being" (p. 341). Finally, Bakhtin asserts that it is through dialogue that a novel creates an artistic image of language. Thus, the context in which a novel is written is critical to complete understanding. He explains, "In an objective stylistic study of novels from distant epochs it is necessary to . . . rigorously coordinate the style under consideration with the background of heteroglossia, appropriate to the era, that dialogizes it" (p. 422). While Bakhtin speaks specifically of the genre of the novel in order to elucidate the meaning of heteroglossia and dialogism, these concepts are useful in the contemplation of other genres as well.

The dialogic nature of genres informs the ways in which Cope and Kalantzis (1993b) propose to implement an explicit pedagogy for inclusion and access. For example, the first of the five principles in this pedagogy relates directly to Bakhtin's notion of dialogism. According to Cope and Kalantzis, classroom discourse is a dialogue, and a central goal of this dialogue is to call attention to and affirm difference. In addition, Cope and Kalantzis argue that it is by embracing and making explicit these differences, or centrifugal forces, in language that critical literacy and, in turn, creativity develop. They observe,

Especially when it treads into the realm of the multigeneric and the intergeneric, genre literacy becomes a critical literacy, a tool to evaluate how well a text manages to communicate, and a tool which does not bind speakers and writers to formulaic adherence to canonical genres. Indeed, many of the most powerful of texts do not lend themselves to be simply unpacked as the realisation of a predictable formula. Herein lies real creativity. (p. 89)

Thus, Cope and Kalantzis contend that it is the recognition and affirmation of diversity via dialogue that fosters critical thinking and creativity, processes that are integral components for inclusion and access. While Cope and Kalantzis's vision of an explicit pedagogy for inclusion and access does not draw directly from the theories of Bakhtin or Bourdieu, these theories provide new lenses through which to contemplate their contribution and to reconsider the value of explicit genre instruction in the classroom.

Explicit Instruction in U.S. Classrooms

Australians like Cope and Kalantzis (1993b) are not the only advocates of explicit genre instruction in elementary and secondary classrooms, and there are a variety of genre-based pedagogical approaches in the United States—for teaching English Language Learners (e.g., Gebhard & Harman, 2011; Gebhard, Harman, & Seger, 2007) and for teaching reading and writing to young children (e.g., Donovan & Smolkin, 2006; Kamberelis, 1999; Pappas, 1987; Pappas & Brown, 1987a, 1987b; Wollman-Bonilla, 2000) and to older students in content-area classrooms (e.g., in history: Coffin, 2006; de Oliveira, 2010; Schleppegrell & de Oliveira, 2006; Schleppegrell, Greer, & Taylor, 2008; in science: Fang, 2006; Fang, 2008; across disciplines: Fang, Schleppegrell, & Cox, 2006; Lemke, 1988; Schleppegrell, 2004), to name a few—that are outside the scope of this article to discuss in any great detail.

To give just one example, however, Lemke (1988) draws from Halliday's (1978) Systemic Functional Linguistics to argue that the ability to master an academic subject is intertwined with the ability to master the patterns of language typically used in that subject—in other words, its genres. Because these discipline-specific genres are not explicitly taught in most classrooms, argues Lemke, students often are perceived as lacking intelligence when, in reality, they are lacking what he calls a “specialized education in language use” (p. 88). Explicit genre instruction equips students with the means to achieve academic success; without it, many students are merely compliant or confused. Thus, explicit instruction is a question of empowerment—those with the opportunity to master discipline-specific genres and to learn to use them flexibly are empowered through language.

For the purposes of this article, however, I now turn to the work of Delpit (2006) and Lee (2001) both of whom propose an explicit approach to teaching African American students and other students of color who traditionally have not been well-served by their schools. While genre studies *per se* do not form the basis for either Delpit's or Lee's arguments for explicit pedagogy, and while Lee's work centers on reading, their complementary visions mirror the pedagogy for inclusion and access explicated by Cope and Kalantzis (1993b)—and theorized by Halliday (1978)—in striking ways. Significantly, all three approaches highlight the importance of implementing pedagogy that is both critical and dialogic in order to improve students' access to the dominant culture, a culture that is perpetuated through its established genres of power.

Like Cope and Kalantzis (1993b), Delpit (2006) does not make explicit reference to either Bourdieu or Bakhtin; however, their theoretical work is reflected in her pedagogical vision. Delpit proposes two essential components of an effective pedagogy for African American and other minority students: (a) teaching that is explicit and (b) teaching that embraces diversity as a positive source of dialogue and a necessary access point to learning. She initially addressed the first component in a series of two highly controversial papers—“Skills and Other Dilemmas of a Progressive Black Educator” and “The Silenced Dialogue: Power and Pedagogy in Educating Other People's Children”—both of which

were originally published in the *Harvard Educational Review*, in 1986 and 1988, respectively, and later reprinted as chapters in her book, *Other People's Children: Cultural Conflict in the Classroom*. In this book, Delpit (2006) echoes the concerns of the Australian genre theorists by challenging the progressivist trend in American education, and, like Cope and Kalantzis (1993a), problematizes the assumptions inherent to the perspectives of, in her words, the “conservative traditionalists” on the one hand and the “anthropologically oriented liberals” (p. 5) on the other. The focus of her critique is the writing process movement, which, in the 1980s, was very popular and highly pervasive in the United States, Australia, and elsewhere. Of particular concern for Delpit is the fact that, where mainstream, primarily white students tend to thrive as a result of a process approach to writing instruction, poor and minority students fall even further behind their peers, in her view, as a result of this pedagogical technique. The reality, Delpit argues, is that students are judged on the product of their efforts regardless of the writing process they employ to create the product. Therefore, students who do not gain access to the cultural expectations for these products outside the classroom require explicit instruction in order to access the culture of power through different, more direct means.

According to Delpit (2006), the culture of power is a reality, and the danger of existing within specific power structures without recognizing them, a danger elucidated by Bourdieu (1977) through the notion of the *habitus*, is equally real. Delpit describes the culture of power as consisting of five given aspects:

1. Issues of power are enacted in classrooms.
2. There are codes or rules for participating in power; that is, there is a “culture of power.”
3. The rules of the culture of power are a reflection of the rules of the culture of those who have power.
4. If you are not already a participant in the culture of power, being told explicitly the rules of that culture makes acquiring power easier.
5. Those with power are frequently least aware of—or least willing to acknowledge—its existence. Those with less power are often most aware of its existence. (p. 24)

Delpit puts particular emphasis on the last two elements, the first of which acknowledges the importance of explicit instruction and the second that highlights the naturalizing effect of the *habitus*. While students whose access to the culture of power extends outside the classroom might benefit equally from implicit and explicit instruction, the latter form of instruction is necessary for students whose only access to the culture of power is the classroom. Thus, Delpit proposes a more comprehensive approach to instruction, one that is neither conservatively traditional nor liberally progressive. She writes,

I suggest that students must be *taught* the codes needed to participate fully in the mainstream of American life, not by being forced to attend to hollow, inane, decontextualized

subskills, but rather within the context of meaningful communicative endeavors; that they must be allowed the resource of the teacher's expert knowledge, while being helped to acknowledge their own "expertness" as well; and that even while students are assisted in learning the culture of power, they must also be helped to learn about the arbitrariness of those codes and about the power relationships they represent. (p. 45; author's emphasis)

Thus, in Delpit's view—which is reminiscent of Bernstein's (1971) theories about the different linguistic codes that students bring to school and Halliday's (1978) consideration of the ways that schools might bridge these codes with the codes more characteristic of their educational experiences—educators have a responsibility to teach the codes of power to those students who do not have access to them outside the classroom. For, it is only by learning these codes of power that students gain the ability, and therefore the option, to access them. As she exemplifies through the consequences of the writing process movement, African American and other minority students cannot benefit from the culture of power unless they have the tools to access it.

Once again echoing Cope and Kalantzis (1993b), Delpit (2006) is careful to point out that explicit instruction does not preclude the ability to foster and celebrate diversity in the classroom. On the contrary, diversity in this case also serves as a point of access for engaging students in learning through dialogue. In "Language Diversity and Learning," a paper originally published in 1990 in response to accusations that her call for a more explicit approach to pedagogy sought to eliminate difference, Delpit (2006) counters that an effective pedagogy that incorporates explicit teaching only achieves its purpose in combination with the acknowledgment and celebration of diversity. She explains, "Teachers need to support the language that students bring to school, provide them input from an additional code, and give them the opportunity to use the new code in a nonthreatening, real communicative context" (p. 53). One way in which this dual mission is realized is by viewing the process of teaching and learning as a dialogue. In this scenario, the teacher assumes the role of learner at times, while the students assume the role of teacher. By making explicit the cultural and linguistic differences that exist between students' home and school lives, a dialogue develops. This dialogue then serves as a way to initiate explicit discussions about genres and codes of power in the classroom. Delpit encourages educators to embrace difference as a source of knowledge. She proposes, "Rather than think of these diverse students as problems, we can view them instead as resources who can help all of us learn what it feels like to move between cultures and language varieties, and thus perhaps better learn how to become citizens of the global community" (p. 69). Contrary to the beliefs of some of her early critics, Delpit's call for explicit instruction is not a call to transform or conventionalize non-mainstream students. Instead, it is a call to broaden all students' knowledge bases in authentic ways so that they may become critical and creative thinkers.

Taking a different approach, Lee (2001) draws directly from Bourdieu (1990) and Bakhtin (1981) to explicate a pedagogical approach that, I argue, builds on Delpit's (2006) vision of a pedagogy that promotes explicit teaching and supports diversity as well as Halliday's (1978) vision of an approach to language instruction that emphasizes and builds on the continuities between students' in-school and out-of-school experiences. Lee (2001) explores her pedagogical approach in more depth through her work with the Cultural Modeling Project, a reform program that she describes as

an attempt to provide support for the empowerment of the English departments in urban high schools through curriculum development, technology infusion, professional development, and assessment. It is based on the premise that students bring to the language arts classroom a rich array of knowledge that is useful for learning generative concepts and strategies in reading and writing. (p. 100)

The Project focuses specifically on students who speak African American English. It draws from the language play characteristic of this form of English as a point of access from which to help students think about the use of language in academic literary contexts such as reading and writing. According to Lee, a specific genre of talk, "signifying," forms the basis for language play in African American English and is a useful access point for African American students of literature because it employs metaphor, satire, irony, and alternating points of view and, therefore, requires its participants to constantly interpret and infer meaning. By extrapolating these meaning-making strategies and discussing them explicitly, teachers are able to help students use the same strategies in a new context. In Lee's study, this context is a language arts classroom in which the students are learning to access and critically interpret literature. Lee explains,

One of the pivotal goals of the Cultural Modeling Project is to make explicit the forms of knowledge that students use tacitly in their routine everyday practices as well as to make explicit the links between these new explicitly articulated strategies and the academic tasks at hand. (p. 119)

Thus, by using prior knowledge to make a connection between home and school cultures, teachers and students are able to develop a common language through which to access increasingly unfamiliar texts in the classroom.

Lee (2001) explores the foundational premises of the Cultural Modeling Project in more depth through her detailed analysis of a single instructional period in her freshman language arts classroom in an all-Black, low-performing school in an urban district. The class is just one component of a three-year initiative to incorporate the Project in classrooms throughout the school. During the instructional period in question, the class engaged in a discussion about "October Brown," the first chapter in Maxine Claire's (1994) novel *Rattlebone*, which is a compilation of related short stories.

Lee (2001) specifies Bourdieu's (1990) habitus as her unit of analysis in this study. However, her use of the term differs in slight

but significant ways from the way it has previously been used in this article. For the purpose of her analysis, Lee adopts Duranti's definition of the *habitus* as "a system of dispositions with historical dimensions through which novices acquire competence by entering activities through which they develop a series of expectations about the world and about ways of being in it" (Duranti, as cited in Lee, p. 99). The conception of the *habitus* as a system of dispositions opens up a space from which to consider the process by which new dispositions arise. In her account of the different historical dispositions, such as the personal histories that the students in her classroom bring to an activity, she includes "the history of practices over time within [her] classroom" (p. 135). Identifying the history of practices within her classroom as one of the dispositions that make up the *habitus* suggests that new elements may contribute to the ongoing formulation and reformulation of the *habitus*. Thus, for Lee, the *habitus* is not just a naturalizing force that must be acknowledged, but a more flexible and generative construct that changes over time. Further, by suggesting that the history of practices in a particular classroom forms one of the historical dispositions that make up the *habitus*, she gives increased agency to teachers and students in their ability to together reconstruct the *habitus*. Lee's use of this particular definition opens up intriguing possibilities for ways in which individuals may alter the *habitus* that forms the basis of the culture of power.

A unique component of explicit instruction in the Cultural Modeling Project, as exemplified in Lee's (2001) classroom analysis, is the fact that it comes to fruition only through dialogue. While Cope and Kalantzis (1993b) and Delpit (2006) advocate for a pedagogy of explicit instruction combined with dialogue, the two components are not so inextricably linked as they are in the classroom in this study. Lee explores the dialogic nature of explicit instruction in her classroom by dividing the instruction period into three episodes. In the first episode, Lee, the teacher, asks the students questions. In the second episode, several students add their own questions to the questions posed by the teacher and initiate a conversation that does not immediately include her. In the third episode, following one student's assertion that the main character is Chinese, not African American, students ask and respond to each other's questions in an "intense interactional space" (p. 114). In this interactional space, the role of the teacher is minimized to resemble that of a coach observing and occasionally guiding her players from the sidelines. In response to the assertion that October Brown is Chinese, many different students contribute to the ensuing dialogue by providing text-based evidence both for and against the claim. Students model close reading practices for each other, and the teacher works with these students to make their examples of effective approaches to the text explicit to the rest of the class. In this way, Lee explains, an erroneous question that might be overlooked in less dialogic classrooms becomes a means through which to make effective strategies public and explicit.

Lee's (2001) approach to instruction addresses Delpit's (2006) call for a more explicit and inclusive pedagogy in several important ways. Like Delpit, Lee highlights the need to explicitly

demonstrate to students the steps that are necessary in order to produce a specific product. Lee accomplishes this through the use of artifacts and modeling strategies. As seen through the example of the "intense interactional space," scaffolding responsibilities in Lee's classroom are shared and negotiated between the teacher and the students in an evolving apprenticeship in which both teachers and students participate in modeling. According to Lee, this modeling—a key element of the explicit pedagogy for which she advocates—is a form of the guided participation explicated by Rogoff (1990). Lee's specific reference to Rogoff's notion of guided participation as an essential component of explicit teaching is worth additional consideration in light of Freedman's (1994) appropriation of this same notion in her essay *against* explicit teaching. Freedman uses guided practice as an example of shaping, an approach to teaching that she distinguishes from explicit instruction. However, Lee very clearly identifies guided practice as an important component of explicit pedagogy, as it orchestrates the practices through which the teacher and students make public the relationship between, in this case, the strategies used in signifying and the same strategies used in the interpretation of canonical literary texts. It is this explicit connection that initiates the dialogue that then allows the teacher to introduce more abstract language in order to assist the students in building a theory of language, or in Cope and Kalantzis's (1993a) terms, a metalanguage, that will provide them with the tools necessary to approach future texts more strategically.

CONCLUSION

Explicit pedagogies for inclusion and access as conceived of through the Social Literacy Project in Australia and the Cultural Modeling Project in the United States are visions for how we might engage in the pedagogical work necessary to truly value the rich cultural and linguistic experiences that students bring to the classroom while simultaneously engaging in critical dialogue about the power structures that continue to define what literacy practices are most valued in school and beyond. I have highlighted the work of Cope and Kalantzis (1993b), Delpit (2006), and Lee (2001) in this article because together they illuminate what explicit instruction that is both critical and dialogic looks like in elementary and secondary classrooms in Australia and the United States. Specifically, all three approaches highlight the importance of implementing pedagogy that improves students' access to the dominant culture, a culture that is perpetuated through its established genres of power. All three approaches also call attention to the need to work with students to identify the steps that are necessary in order to recognize, manipulate, and critique genres of power through teaching and learning activities that are shared and negotiated between teachers and students.

Taken together, their work has important pedagogical implications. Specifically, it challenges us to

- Recognize, celebrate, and build from the diverse language and literacy practices that students (and teachers) bring with them to the classroom;

- Work with students to develop a theoretically informed meta-language through which to engage in discussions about the genres of power that are valued in school as well as why they are valued; and
- Facilitate students' acquisition of these genres of power through literacy practices that encourage creativity in addition to mastery so that students may then use their genre knowledge to achieve their own communicative goals.

These implications are relevant to elementary and secondary teachers across disciplines because the ability to master an academic subject is intertwined with the ability to master the patterns of language, or genres, typically used in that subject (Lemke, 1988). Lee's (2001) work is an example of instruction that guides students toward mastery of the patterns of language used in the interpretation of canonical literary texts in the context of a language arts classroom, but the principles that underlie the Cultural Modeling Project hold true for instruction in other academic disciplines, as well. At its core, explicit genre instruction is a question of empowerment—students who have the opportunity to master and creatively and flexibly use the discipline-specific genres that are valued in their classrooms and beyond are empowered through language.

It seems fitting to end this article with the same thought that Halliday (1978) articulated at the end of his explication of the *Breakthrough to Literacy* program a full thirty years ago. A thought that, though thirty years old, is still strikingly applicable today:

We take language all too solemnly—and yet not seriously enough. If we (and this includes teachers) can learn to be a lot more serious about language, and at the same time a great deal less solemn about it, then we might be more ready to recognize linguistic success for what it is when we see it, and so do more to bring it about where it would otherwise fail to appear. (p. 210)

References

- Bakhtin, M. M. (1981). Discourse in the novel. In M. Holquist (Ed.), *The dialogic imagination* (pp. 259–422). Austin, TX: University of Texas Press.
- Bakhtin, M. M. (1986). The problem of speech genres. In C. Emerson & M. Holquist (Eds.), *Speech genres and other late essays* (pp. 60–102). Austin, TX: University of Texas Press.
- Bawarshi, A. S., & Reiff, M. J. (2010). *Genre: An introduction to history, theory, research, and pedagogy* [WAC Clearinghouse version]. In C. Bazerman (Ed.), *Reference guides to rhetoric and composition*. Retrieved from http://wac.colostate.edu/books/bawarshi_reiff.
- Bazerman, C. (2002). Genre and identity: Citizenship in the age of the internet and the age of global capitalism. In R. Coe, L. Lingard, & T. Teslenko (Eds.), *The rhetoric and ideology of genre* (pp. 13–37). Cresskill, NJ: Hampton Press.
- Berkenkotter, C., & Huckin, T. N. (1993). Rethinking genre from a sociocognitive perspective. *Written Communication*, 10(4), 475–509.
- Berkenkotter, C., & Huckin, T. N. (1995). *Genre knowledge in disciplinary communication: Cognition/culture/power*. Hillsdale, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates.
- Bernstein, B. (1971). *Class, codes and control: Theoretical studies towards a sociology of language* (Vol. 1). London, UK: Routledge & Kegan Paul.
- Bhatia, V. K. (1993). *Analysing genre: Language use in professional settings*. New York, NY: Longman.
- Bhatia, V. K. (2004). *Worlds of written discourse*. New York, NY: Continuum.
- Bourdieu, P. (1977). Structures and the habitus. *Outline of a theory of practice*. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press.
- Bourdieu, P. (1982). *The economy of linguistic exchanges. Language and symbolic power*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.
- Bourdieu, P. (1990). *The logic of practice*. Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press.
- Bruner, J. S. (1978). The role of dialogue in language acquisition. In A. Sinclair, R. J. Jarvella, & W. J. M. Levelt (Eds.), *The child's conception of language* (pp. 241–256). New York, NY: Springer-Verlag Berlin Heidelberg.
- Byrnes, H. (Ed.). (2006). *Advanced language learning: The contribution of Halliday and Vygotsky*. New York, NY: Continuum.
- Callaghan, M., Knapp, P., & Noble, G. (1993). Genre in practice. In B. Cope & M. Kalantzis (Eds.), *The powers of literacy: A genre approach to teaching writing* (pp. 179–202). Pittsburgh, PA: University of Pittsburgh Press.
- Cazden, C. (1979). Peekaboo as an instructional model: Discourse development at home and at school. *Papers and Reports on Child Language Development*, 17, 1–29.
- Christie, F. (1987). Genre as choice. In I. Reid (Ed.), *The place of genre in learning: Current debates* (pp. 22–34). Melbourne, AU: Deakin University: Centre for Studies in Literary Education.
- Coe, R., Lingard, L., & Teslenko, T. (2002). Genre as action, strategy, and difference: An introduction. In R. Coe, L. Lingard, & T. Teslenko (Eds.), *The rhetoric and ideology of genre* (pp. 1–10). Cresskill, NJ: Hampton Press.
- Coffin, C. (2006). *Historical discourse: The language of time, cause and evaluation*. New York, NY: Continuum.
- Cope, B., & Kalantzis, M. (1993a). Introduction: How a genre approach to literacy can transform the way writing is taught. In B. Cope and M. Kalantzis (Eds.), *The powers of literacy: A genre approach to teaching writing* (pp. 1–21). Pittsburgh, PA: University of Pittsburgh Press.
- Cope, B., & Kalantzis, M. (1993b). The power of literacy and the literacy of power. In B. Cope and M. Kalantzis (Eds.), *The powers of literacy: A genre approach to teaching writing* (pp. 63–89). Pittsburgh, PA: University of Pittsburgh Press.
- Cope, B., & Kalantzis, M. (2000a). Designs for social futures. In B. Cope & M. Kalantzis (Eds.), *Multiliteracies: Literacy learning and the design of social futures* (pp. 203–234). New York, NY: Routledge.
- Cope, B., & Kalantzis, M. (2000b). Multiliteracies: The beginnings of an idea. In B. Cope & M. Kalantzis (Eds.), *Multiliteracies: Literacy learning and the design of social futures* (pp. 3–8). New York, NY: Routledge.
- Cope, B., & Kalantzis, M. (2009). Multiliteracies: New literacies, new learning. *Pedagogies: An International Journal*, 4(3), 164–195.
- Cope, B., Kalantzis, M., Kress, G., Martin, J., & Murphy, L. (1993). Bibliographical essay: Developing the theory and practice of genre-based literacy. In B. Cope & M. Kalantzis (Eds.), *The powers of literacy: A genre approach to teaching writing* (pp. 231–247). Pittsburgh, PA: University of Pittsburgh Press.
- Delpit, L. D. (1986). Skills and other dilemmas of a progressive black educator. *Harvard Educational Review*, 56(4), 379–386.
- Delpit, L. D. (1988). The silenced dialogue: Power and pedagogy in educating other people's children. *Harvard Educational Review*, 58(3), 280–299.

- Delpit, L. (1990). Language diversity and learning. In S. Hynds & D. L. Rubin (Eds.), *Perspectives on talk and learning* (pp. 247–266). Urbana, IL: National Council of Teachers of English.
- Delpit, L. (2006). *Other people's children: Cultural conflict in the classroom*. New York, NY: The New Press.
- de Oliveira, L. C. (2010). Nouns in history: Packaging information, expanding explanations, and structuring reasoning. *The History Teacher*, 43(2), 191–203.
- Devitt, A. J. (2004). *Writing genres*. Carbondale, IL: Southern Illinois University Press.
- Dixon, J. (1987). The question of genres. In I. Reid (Ed.), *The place of genre in learning: Current debates* (pp. 9–21). Melbourne, AU: Deakin University: Centre for Studies in Literary Education.
- Donovan, C. A., & Smolkin, L. B. (2006). Children's understanding of genre and writing development. In C. A. MacArthur, S. Graham, & J. Fitzgerald (Eds.), *Handbook of writing research* (pp. 131–143). New York, NY: The Guilford Press.
- Ellis, R. (1986). *Understanding second language acquisition*. Oxford, UK: Oxford University Press.
- Ellis, R. (1990). *Instructed second language acquisition: Learning in the classroom*. Oxford, UK: Blackwell.
- Fang, Z. (2006). The language demands of science reading in middle school. *International Journal of Science Education*, 28(5), 491–520.
- Fang, Z. (2008). Going beyond the Fab Five: Helping students cope with the unique linguistic challenges of expository reading in intermediate grades. *Journal of Adolescent and Adult Literacy*, 51(6), 476–487.
- Fang, Z., Schleppegrell, M. J., & Cox, B. E. (2006). Understanding the language demands of schooling: Nouns in academic registers. *Journal of Literacy Research*, 38(3), 247–273.
- Freedman, A. (1993). Show and tell? The role of explicit teaching in the learning of new genres. *Research in the Teaching of English*, 27(3), 222–251.
- Freedman, A. (1994). 'Do as I say': The relationship between teaching and learning new genres. In A. Freedman & P. Medway (Eds.), *Genre and the new rhetoric* (pp. 191–210). Bristol, UK: Taylor & Francis.
- Freedman, A., & Adam, C. (1996). Learning to write professionally: 'Situated learning' and the transition from university to professional discourse. *Journal of Business and Technical Communication*, 10(4), 395–427.
- Freedman, A., & Medway, P. (1994). Locating genre studies: Antecedents and prospects. In A. Freedman & P. Medway (Eds.), *Genre and the new rhetoric* (pp. 1–20). Bristol, UK: Taylor & Francis.
- Gebhard, M., & Harman, R. (2011). Reconsidering genre theory in K–12 schools: A response to school reforms in the United States. *Journal of Second Language Writing*, 20, 45–55.
- Gebhard, M., Harman, R., & Seger, W. (2007). Reclaiming recess: Learning the language of persuasion. *Language Arts*, 84(5), 419–430.
- Halliday, M. A. K. (1978). *Language as social semiotic: The social interpretation of language and meaning*. London, UK: Edward Arnold.
- Hanks, W. F. (1996). *Language and communicative practices*. Boulder, CO: Westview Press.
- Hasan, R. (1992). Speech genre, semiotic mediation and the development of higher mental functions. *Language Sciences*, 14(4), 489–528.
- Hyland, K. (2004). *Genre and second language writing*. Ann Arbor, MI: The University of Michigan Press.
- Hyon, S. (1996). Genre in three traditions: Implications for ESL. *TESOL Quarterly*, 30(4), 693–722.
- Ivanič, R. (1998). *Writing and identity: The discursive construction of identity in academic writing*. Philadelphia, PA: John Benjamins.
- Johns, A. M. (1997). *Text, role, and context: Developing academic literacies*. New York, NY: Cambridge University Press.
- Johns, A. M. (2002). Introduction: Genre in the classroom. In A. M. Johns (Ed.), *Genre in the classroom: Multiple perspectives* (pp. 3–13). Mahwah, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates.
- Kamberelis, G. (1999). Genre development and learning: Children writing stories, science reports, and poems. *Research in the Teaching of English*, 33, 403–459.
- Kress, G. (1987). Genre in a social theory of language: A reply to John Dixon. In I. Reid (Ed.), *The place of genre in learning: Current debates* (pp. 35–45). Melbourne, AU: Deakin University: Centre for Studies in Literary Education.
- Kress, G. (1993). Genre as social process. In B. Cope & M. Kalantzis (Eds.), *The powers of literacy: A genre approach to teaching writing* (pp. 22–37). Pittsburgh, PA: University of Pittsburgh Press.
- Lee, C. D. (2001). Is October Brown Chinese? A cultural modeling activity system of underachieving students. *American Educational Research Journal*, 38(1), 97–141.
- Lemke, J. (1988). Genres, semantics, and classroom education. *Linguistics and Education*, 1, 81–99.
- Luke, A. (1994). Series editor's preface. In A. Freedman & P. Medway (Eds.), *Genre and the new rhetoric* (pp. vii–xi). Bristol, UK: Taylor & Francis.
- Luke, A. (1995). Genres of power? Literacy education and the production of capital. In R. Hasan & G. Williams (Eds.), *Literacy in society* (pp. 308–338). London, UK: Longman.
- Mackay, D., Thompson, B., & Schaub, P. (1973). *Breakthrough to literacy*. Glendale, CA: Bowmar.
- Macken, M., & Slade, D. (1993). Assessment: A foundation for effective learning in the school context. In B. Cope & M. Kalantzis (Eds.), *The powers of literacy: A genre approach to teaching writing* (pp. 203–230). Pittsburgh, PA: University of Pittsburgh Press.
- Martin, J. R. (1993). Genre and literacy—Modeling context in educational linguistics. *Annual Review of Applied Linguistics*, 13, 141–172.
- Martin, J. R., Christie, F., & Rothery, J. (1987). Social processes in education: A reply to Sawyer and Watson (and others). In I. Reid (Ed.), *The place of genre in learning: Current debates* (pp. 58–82). Melbourne, AU: Deakin University: Centre for Studies in Literary Education.
- Miller, C. (1984). Genre as social action. *Quarterly Journal of Speech*, 70, 151–167.
- New London Group. (1996). A pedagogy of multiliteracies: Designing social futures. *Harvard Educational Review* 66, 60–92.
- Paltridge, B. (2001). *Genre and the language learning classroom*. Ann Arbor, MI: University of Michigan Press.
- Pappas, C. C. (1987). Exploring the textual properties of "proto-reading." In R. Steele & T. Threadgold (Eds.), *Language topics* (Vol. 1) (pp. 137–162). Amsterdam, NL: John Benjamins.
- Pappas, C. C., & Brown, E. (1987a). Young children learning story discourse: Three case studies. *The Elementary School Journal*, 87(4), 455–466.
- Pappas, C. C., & Brown, E. (1987b). Learning to read by reading: Learning how to extend the functional potential of language. *Research in the Teaching of English*, 21(2), 160–184.
- Paré, A. (2002). Genre and identity: Individuals, institutions, and ideology. In R. Coe, L. Lingard, & T. Teslenko (Eds.), *The rhetoric and ideology of genre* (pp. 57–71). Cresskill, NJ: Hampton Press.
- Rogoff, B. (1990). *Apprenticeship in thinking: Cognitive development in social context*. New York, NY: Oxford University Press.
- Sawyer, W., & Watson, K. (1987). Questions of genre. In I. Reid (Ed.), *The place of genre in learning: Current debates* (pp. 46–57). Melbourne, AU: Deakin University: Centre for Studies in Literary Education.

- Schleppegrell, M. J. (2004). *The language of schooling: A functional linguistics perspective*. Mahwah, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates.
- Schleppegrell, M. J., & de Oliveira, L. C. (2006). An integrated language and content approach for history teachers. *Journal of English for Academic Purposes*, 5, 254–268.
- Schleppegrell, M. J., Greer, S., & Taylor, S. (2008). Literacy in history: Language and meaning. *Australian Journal of Language and Literacy*, 31(2), 174–187.
- Schryer, C. (2002). Genre and power: A chronotopic analysis. In R. Coe, L. Lingard, & T. Teslenko (Eds.), *The rhetoric and ideology of genre* (pp. 73–102). Cresskill NJ: Hampton Press.
- Swales, J. (1990). *Genre analysis: English in academic and research settings*. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press.
- Tardy, C. M. (2009). *Building genre knowledge*. West Lafayette, IN: Parlor Press.
- Vygotsky, L. S. (1978). Interaction between learning and development. In M. Cole, V. John-Steiner, S. Scribner, & E. Souberman (Eds.), *Mind in society: The development of higher psychological processes* (pp. 79–91). Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.
- Wells, G. (1999). The complementary contributions of Halliday and Vygotsky to a “language-based theory of learning.” *Dialogic inquiry: Towards a sociocultural practice and theory of education* (pp. 3–50). Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press.
- Wollman-Bonilla, J. E. (2000). Teaching science writing to first graders: “Genre learning and recontextualization.” *Research in the Teaching of English*, 35(1), 35–65.

Young Adult Literature

Claire, M. (1994). *Rattlebone*. New York, NY: Penguin Books.

Katherine K. Frankel is a doctoral student in language, literacy, and culture in the Graduate School of Education at the University of California, Berkeley. Ms. Frankel can be reached at kfrankel@berkeley.edu.

Reflections on Becoming a Researcher

KATHERINE K. FRANKEL AND P. DAVID PEARSON, UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA, BERKELEY

INTRODUCTION

In this joint reflection two of the contributors to this issue of the *Journal of Education* consider the processes and practices that led to the publication of their respective pieces. Since one of the authors, Kate Frankel, was a doctoral advisee of the other, David Pearson, they also reflect on the mentoring practices they have shared over the last five years as Kate has completed her doctorate at Berkeley.

DAVID'S REFLECTION

The article reprinted here was published in *Reading Research Quarterly* in the journal's 1974–75 publication year. It was based on my dissertation, which was completed in 1969. By my calculations, that is a five-year gap between completion and publication. Why such long time lag? Was I just too lazy or too busy with new courses and the other duties of an assistant professor to pursue publication? Not really! While I might have been busy, I surely wasn't lazy when it came to trying to get the work published. In early 1970, I submitted it to the *Journal of Educational Psychology*, received a revise and resubmit recommendation; revised, resubmitted, and was rejected. That nearly two-year ordeal brought me to early 1972. After four months of wallowing in dejection and self-doubt, I summoned up the grit needed to revamp it and send it off to *RRQ*. Predictably, I received another revise and resubmit; revised, resubmitted, and yet another revise and resubmit. That cycle of revising and resubmitting, all the while in close interaction with the editors, Roger Farr and Sam Weintraub, went on for another 18 months until they were satisfied that the manuscript was not only technically sound but rhetorically effective. Even though Roger and Sam put me through the revision wringer, I am forever grateful for their focused and helpful feedback and their undying patience with a struggling young researcher. They could have easily "written me off" after the first round of reviews (reviewers wanted a lot of changes!), but they didn't. They stayed with me through what seemed like an endless stream of revisions. But in the end, there emerged a product in which both the author and the editors could take a modicum of pride.

I am both fond and proud of this article, but for different reasons. Fond of it because it embodies what I aspire to do in reporting research—establish a strong relationship between theory and research. I have always thought that the most important role for research was to provide an empirical database to evaluate which among two or more competing theories of a mental, social, or pedagogical process provides the best account of the evidence

available. An index of the article's impact is that Robert Ruddell and his various co-editors of *Theoretical Models and Processes of Reading* selected it to appear in multiple editions of their influential volume. Bob once told me that it was precisely the theory evaluation focus of the article that led to his decision. By the way, when you read this 39-year-old piece, think about it in light of all the emphasis we are placing on text complexity these days.

Proud of it because of the process that led to its publication. Even the rejections, the revisions, the resubmits, and the numerous requests by the editors to fine-tune the piece in its final stages were important to the process—for they taught me three important lessons. First, stamina, endurance, and belief in oneself are the pathway to scholarly success. Second, you can always use a little help from your friends—and your editors. I would never have published the piece without Roger and Sam's support and faith in me as an emerging scholar. Third—and this follows from the second—you can learn a lot more about your own writing once you learn how to examine it from the perspective of those who read it, even criticize it. So now, whenever I receive a negative review (and I still get them!), I allow myself a day to wallow in self-pity and accuse the reviewers of ignorance or mean-spiritedness. Then I shift gears and ask, "If I had been sitting where they were sitting and looking at this manuscript through their lens, might I have reached the same conclusion?" And if the answer to that question is, "Yes," or even "Maybe," then I have to ask myself an even more important question, "What do I have to learn from this review—and how can I use the feedback to make this an even better manuscript?" It might be the scholarly equivalent of "turning the other cheek" and learning from one's missteps. Those three lessons have served me well. I hope they can be of help to others!

KATE'S REFLECTION

In contrast to David's reprinted article, my article is appearing in print for the very first time in this issue. It is a fitting contribution to an issue of the *Journal of Education* devoted to the work of early career scholars because it represents one of my first—and ongoing—attempts to make sense of a large body of theoretical and empirical literature. I wrote the original version for a class during my first year of graduate school. With the encouragement of my advisors, David Pearson and Sarah Freedman, I somewhat cavalierly sent it out for review. The very extensive, thoughtful, and, at times, quite critical feedback I received from editors and reviewers alike encouraged me to revisit and rethink my approach in the paper numerous times. The version published here, therefore, represents

several years of reading and reflection that was all part of my effort to wrap my head around the field of genre research and practice while at the same time offering a new perspective on what, I was told numerous times, was an old debate.

In his reflection, David expresses his gratitude to the *RRQ* editors who guided and encouraged him through multiple revision processes, and it strikes me just how important journal editors are in the process of becoming a scholar. Over the past few months, Roselmina (Lee) Indrisano, the current editor of the *Journal of Education*, has worked with me to shape my article into something that I hope will be a useful resource for teachers and researchers alike. It's quite different from the original paper that I wrote as a first-year graduate student, but, at its core, I think it retains many of the features that intrigued me about genre theory and prompted me to seek publication in the first place. To me, this satisfactory ending to a long writing and thinking process is a reflection of the many different types of mentorship I received along the way to publication. The process began in consultation with my doctoral advisors and graduate student colleagues, was shaped by the feedback I received from outside editors and reviewers, and ended with Lee's subtle and insightful guidance. All of these different levels of feedback contributed to the crafting of the article that is published here.

As early career scholars, we are tasked with dual and, at times, contradictory objectives as we take those first steps toward publication and attempt to add our voices to the conversations about education that are happening around us. First and foremost, we must demonstrate to established scholars that we have a deep and theoretically sound understanding of the field. At the same time, our unique position as early career scholars affords opportunities to bring novel perspectives to "old" concerns and to make innovative contributions that push the field of education in new and exciting directions. This is both the challenge and the delight of our position. If we are lucky, as I have been, then we will have many mentors along the way to assist us in this endeavor.

OUR REFLECTION

We (David and Kate) have both acknowledged the important role that journal editors play in the academic lives of early career scholars. But we see this as just one type of mentorship that could and should be part of the early career experiences of new scholars. In our own work together as advisor and advisee, we have found other equally important mentorship opportunities.

Research Groups

UC Berkeley has had a long tradition of "research groups," going back at least several decades. A research group is a space where a professor, like David, and a group of his graduate students, like Kate, engage in collaborative practices geared toward enhancing one another's research and writing. Ours meets bimonthly, and students sign up to present their work to the group when they are ready or, sometimes, through the encouragement of other group members, even when they're not.

David's thoughts. The research group that I run is very learner-centered (others, by the way, are more topic- or project-centered, depending mostly on professorial preferences); I chose the learner-centered approach because I wanted to create a space in which students set the agenda and focus on their career milestones (what students often call hurdles), such as practicing for qualifying exams or conference presentations and getting feedback on written products, such as position papers (Berkeley requires three before the qualifying exam can occur), conference presentations, and in-progress articles. I wanted it to be a safe place for students to socialize one another (along with my input) into a community of scholars—to learn the norms, the discourses, and the practices of collegial critique and collaborative scholarship. I also insisted that the groups be intergenerational, from timid and deferential first years to confident (but sometimes weary) dissertation writers. A real virtue of an intergenerational approach is the student-to-student mentoring that occurs quite naturally.

Kate's thoughts. I joined David's research group in the fall of my first year of graduate school, and I don't remember saying much of anything during that entire year. But, I listened intently to those around me and learned a great deal about what it takes to be a scholar in education, as well as what milestones (and roadblocks) I could expect to encounter on the road to a Ph.D. In later years, I benefitted greatly from the feedback I received from David and my peers during these research group meetings and found that the conversations in which we engaged as a group pushed my thinking in new and sometimes unexpected directions. As I moved along in the program, our research group also became a conduit through which I could informally mentor my fellow graduate students who were new to academia.

Co-authoring

One of the hallmarks of David's mentoring approach is his willingness to co-author with his students. Over the past five years, we have co-authored two book chapters together in collaboration with other colleagues.

David's thoughts. Let me be clear about co-authoring: I co-author with colleagues, be they students or colleagues on campus or around the country, not because I am generous or want to do someone a favor but because my writing and thinking are better when I write with others. Co-authoring prevents me from making errors of logic or foisting rhetorical infelicities on the profession. My record confirms this conviction; in my 44 years as a professor, as of last count, I had co-authored articles with just over 200 different colleagues, students, and former students. And, it does have the serendipitous side effect of giving students access to opportunities they might not otherwise experience until a little later in their careers. More importantly, it exposes them at an early stage to that all-important editorial process we talked about earlier in this essay. By the way, co-authoring includes a lot of planning, a lot of independent work (each of us takes primary responsibility for a piece), a lot of reciprocal editing (I edit yours and you edit

mine), and sometimes sitting together at the computer literally sharing the keyboard as we try to write our way through a tough patch or out of a rhetorical *cul de sac*.

Kate's thoughts. From my perspective, co-authoring gave me hands-on experience in what it means to do the work of a scholar. First, through our “foregrounding” conversations, David and I and our other writing colleagues Marnie Nair (“Reading Comprehension and Reading Disability,” published in 2011) and Elizabeth Jaeger (“Embracing Complexity: Integrating Reading, Writing, and Learning in Intervention Settings,” published in 2013) talked through the big points we hoped to cover in the chapter and the arguments we planned to make along the way. Then, we each took one of those big points to write up on our own before coming back together for follow-up conversations in which we honed our arguments, discussed points of consensus and disagreement, and did a lot of editing. However, for me, the importance of these writing experiences extended beyond the writing itself to the deep thinking that underpinned it. Co-authoring with David, Marnie, and Elizabeth taught me how to think like a scholar.

Research Projects

When possible, David involves graduate students as research assistants (what Berkeley calls GSRs for “graduate student researchers”) on funded (and sometimes unfunded) projects. These benefits are so obvious that they almost go without saying, but let’s add a few words about them anyway.

David's thoughts. Just as co-authoring engages students in the stages and practices of the professional writing process, so research collaboration engages students as genuine apprentices in the stages and practices of research design and implementation in a hands-on, inquiry-embedded manner. It is all about the Zone of Proximal Development and the Gradual Release of Responsibility. And it is as authentic an experience as you get in the “real world” of conducting research. I wish we could offer funded apprenticeships for every doctoral student.

Kate's thoughts. As I write this, I realize that I’ve never worked with David on a traditional research project, probably because early in my graduate career I joined another research project that saw me through most of my years at Berkeley. But, I still had opportunities to engage in research-oriented endeavors with David. One that was particularly valuable was David’s invitation to work with him and a few of his colleagues as they considered ways to define and operationalize text complexity as part of the then-early conversations about the *Common Core State Standards*. Working on this project with David involved me in an important and timely conversation in the field of education and gave me a sense for what scholarly conversations of this nature looked like on the ground.

Emergent Scholarship

Entailed in the concept of emergent literacy is the idea that there is no distinct starting point for literacy, no dividing line or boundary between pre-literacy and literacy. Instead, there is a level of

analysis every pre-literate two-year-old engages in that can be construed as a literacy practice. So one’s literacy development is always both emerging and emergent. At the other end of the growth continuum, there is no point at which literacy is so well developed that it cannot be enhanced. We are all emerging and emergent literacy learners. The emergent principle applies equally well to research. That means that both the brand new scholar about to embark on a trajectory of graduate study and the senior scholar on the verge of retirement are emergent scholars. One never knows so little that she doesn’t have something to contribute to a scholarly project, nor so much that she doesn’t have more to learn.

David's thoughts. There are many traits I don’t particularly like about myself (with my golf game and tendency to overindulge in gastronomic delights high on the list!), but my attitude toward new learning is not one of those. To the contrary, what I like best about myself as a scholar is my willingness to make myself vulnerable to new ideas, new methodologies, and new theoretical developments. I am not sure I have ever intentionally tried to do so, but I have ended up re-inventing myself as a literacy scholar at least three or four times—from a psycholinguistic researcher on text processes in the early 1970s, to a scholar of comprehension pedagogy in the late 1970s, to a student of assessment processes in the late 1980s, to a policy scholar in the late 1990s, and in the 2000s, to a sort of jack-of-all-trades who finds everything way too interesting for his own good. They say that in today’s business world, the average professional will change careers four to six times on the way to retirement. I think that is also true in research. So much is happening so fast that to sequester oneself in an encapsulated conceptual space, away from the flow of new ideas and practices, is to miss all the new opportunities, excitement, and fun. So my advice is to work hard to develop your scholarly identity, and once you have it, be ready to change it as ideas and opportunities invite and compel you to re-invent yourself.

Kate's thoughts. I wrote above that the unique position of an early career scholar affords opportunities to bring new perspectives to “old” concerns and to make innovative contributions to the field of education. I think this is true, but as I transition out of graduate school and into an academic career, and as I engage in this co-authoring endeavor with David, I wonder if the ability to see things in new ways is more a *stance* than a *phase*. As a “mature” scholar, David continues to challenge himself, his students, and the field of education as a whole to embrace new ideas, practices, and points of view. I am confident that I speak for all of his students when I say that we are thankful for his lifelong stance as an emergent scholar, with his accompanying and unwavering interest in us, in our ideas, and in our work.

References

- Frankel, K. K., Jaeger, E. L., & Pearson, P. D. (2013). Embracing complexity: Integrating reading, writing, and learning in intervention settings. In E. Ortlieb & E. H. Cheek, Jr. (Eds.), *School-based interventions for struggling readers, K–8* (pp. 3–20). Bingley, UK: Emerald Group.

Frankel, K. K., Pearson, P. D., & Nair, M. (2011). Reading comprehension and reading disability. In A. McGill-Franzen & R. L. Allington (Eds.), *Handbook of reading disability research* (pp. 219–231). New York, NY: Routledge.

Katherine K. Frankel is a doctoral student in language, literacy, and culture in the Graduate School of Education at the University of California, Berkeley. Ms. Frankel can be reached at kfrankel@berkeley.edu.

P. David Pearson is a professor of language, literacy, and culture in the Graduate School of Education at the University of California, Berkeley. Professor Pearson can be reached at ppearson@berkeley.edu.

"But They Won't Let You Read!": A Case Study of an Urban Middle School Male's Response to School Reading

GRACE ENRIQUEZ, LESLEY UNIVERSITY

ABSTRACT

This qualitative case study presents the perceptions of Derrick, a Black urban adolescent male who enjoys reading but believes that inconsistent school discourses hinder his success and enjoyment as a reader. Findings show that Derrick's purposeful work while reading was limited and misunderstood because, among other factors, there was a pervasive effect of test-driven reform. I argue that his critique of formal reading instruction reveals that even progressive approaches to education are not immune to the discursive power of the accountability and standardization movement, and that resultant, the active and avid reading engagement of this Black adolescent male was ultimately neglected, inhibited, and dismissed.

INTRODUCTION

Despite a decade of rigorous research revealing the shortcomings and unrealized promises in the current era of educational reform, national policies and popular discourse continue to promote an agenda of accountability and standardization for literacy education (Granger, 2008; Luke, 2012). Research has consistently shown that the return to instruction that focuses on phonics and basic reading comprehension skills, promoted largely through high-stakes testing and commercialized curricula, has resulted in a nationwide narrowing of rigorous objectives, robust instruction, and meaningful experiences with texts in schools, especially for students who are often disadvantaged in educational systems (e.g., Comber, 2012; Cummins, 2007; Fecho, Coombs, & McAuley, 2012; Pearson, 2007; Zacher Pandya, 2011). Additionally, scholars have long criticized the way high-stakes testing constrains teachers' professional knowledge and abilities, ultimately undermining their capacity to provide truly engaging, challenging, and effective instruction (e.g., Afflerbach, 2005; Barron & Darling-Hammond, 2008; Fuhrman & Elmore, 2004). Policymakers' and public leaders' continued dismissal of this significant and telling body of research has also interfered with the progress of K–12 students who experience difficulties with reading—an ironic, but not surprising outcome of what this reform movement was meant to address.

The effect is problematic, not just for the "struggling readers" for whom the policies had been intended, but also for those who genuinely enjoy engaging with texts. In this article, I present the case of Derrick (all names of people and places are pseudonyms), a 12-year-old male whose avid interests in reading defied many

stereotypes and assumptions about low-income Black adolescent males and their perceived struggles in school. This case study shows that Derrick displays many of the behaviors of a voracious reader. To City School, the ethnically and socioeconomically diverse urban public middle school he attends, Derrick brings the latest novel he is reading in his English Language Arts (ELA) class during independent reading time, and when he arrives in class, he settles down to read while the rest of the class trickles into the room. Sometimes, he discusses the book with peers when they enter the room. Other times, he animatedly tells me or his teacher, Charles, about the novel and then about other books or magazines he is either reading simultaneously or hopes to read next. At home, Derrick carries books and magazines around as well and bears the lighthearted teasing and proud compliments from family and friends that he is "*always reading*."

Yet Derrick feels there are times when he can't read—at least, not in ways that he enjoys or that make sense to him—and those moments still occur within school, despite his many observable enthusiastic interactions with print texts there. Derrick enjoys reading, but he is also starting to voice concerns, dissent, disinterest, and rejection of school reading instruction. As a member of a working-poor family and living in a neighborhood that commonly sees its share of crime and violence, he is like many urban male students who are "learning to read among turmoil" (Tatum, 2005, p. 15). Tatum (2005) explains that under such daily circumstances, "many poor black males are too preoccupied with thoughts of their own mortality and day-to-day energy required to survive to think about literacy as a bridge to the future" (p. 14). Derrick presents a different case: a Black adolescent male who wants to read, who sees his formal education at school as valuable, but who feels that challenges to his growth, enjoyment, and success as a reader ironically stem from inside school walls, not outside them.

In the professional literature, through popular media outlets, and at public forums, some educators have denounced the restrictive impact of federal policy on students' literacy learning. And yet, the restrictive values and assumptions behind those policies have even found their way into what many might call progressive approaches to literacy learning. Furthermore, relatively little voice has been given to those whose experiences in schools are most at stake—the students themselves. In this article, I aim to further the discussion of the complexities of: (1) the normative discourse about poor and working-class male students of color and their perceived reasons for struggling with reading in school, and (2) the current and pervasive policy push for accountability, standardization, and high-stakes testing in reading.

Although I acknowledge the multiple and robust definitions of reading that consider diverse kinds of texts, signifiers, and modalities, and are embraced by other literacy educators, for the purpose of this article, I first define reading as City School does in order to underscore the limitations within that definition and the school's enactment of it. That is, reading at City School is focused primarily on engagement with printed texts—such as novels, poems, short stories, and magazine and newspaper articles—that use writing as the primary symbol code for meaning. Despite the school's conventional view of reading, I draw on Freire's (1970) insistence that interactions with printed texts always involve reading both the word and the world. Derrick was doing just that as he responded to his experiences as a reader in an official school setting, but the narrow definition of reading propagated by policymakers and schools restricted how others viewed his responses to reading instruction.

My argument, therefore, is twofold. I stand with literacy educators and scholars (e.g., Comber, 2012; Gallego & Hollingsworth, 2000; Luke, 2012; Pearson, 2007) who assert that the limited views of reading conveyed in many educational policies and practices, such as those operating at City School, also limit the perspective of some well-meaning practitioners. This educational ethos may create barriers to meaningful reading experiences in school for students, even with teachers and schools that adopt progressive stances toward reading instruction. Moreover, I contend that the extensive impact of a test-driven school climate neglects, inhibits, and dismisses the active and avid reading engagement of some Black adolescent males. By sharing Derrick's voice, I hope to provide more reason that the current era of educational reform must change course.

REVIEW OF THE LITERATURE

The Complexity of Black Adolescent Males as Readers in School

One must be careful not to view Black adolescent males monolithically, but to understand how the confluence of gender with race and class discourses also guides how they approach literacy and achieve academically. Kunjufu (1982) and Noguera (2003) have pointed to the numerous cultural and social forces, as well as a lack of cultural and social capital, that often hinder Black male youths' academic success. The historic and sociopolitical contexts of schools add other layers. Male students' interests are not often considered in the selection and provision of classroom materials, especially books (Millard, 1997; Taylor, 2004). Researchers have also contended that many working-class students' ways with language and literacy often clash with dominant school discourses that uphold middle-class ways of reading, writing, and communicating, positioning them as outsiders in the reading classroom (Finn, 1999; Heath, 1983). To combat such deficit views and disconnections with school, Brozo, Walter, and Placker (2002) and Hansen and Zambo (2010) argue that stories with positive male archetypes help boys engage with texts more deeply and expressively. Tatum (1999, 2005) argues that Black adolescent males continue to need Black

adult male role models who pursue reading as a genuine interest. Others advocate for culturally relevant and responsive teaching and classroom experiences (Au, 2007; Ladson-Billings, 1992); the relevance of drawing from African American linguistic and rhetorical traditions (Fisher, 2007; Lee, 1993); and the promise of popular culture, hip-hop, and rap music, to become a bridge for learning other genre (Morrell & Duncan-Andrade, 2004).

Such possibilities, however, remain overshadowed by the broader political ethos. While the discourse of accountability and standardization has cut across class- and race-based educational contexts, the degree of influence is different for different student populations. Schools and districts with more affluent student populations can afford to eschew some federal mandates because of their typically passing scores on standardized measures, but schools with large numbers of low-income students of color remain the focal point of such policies. Haddix (2009/2010) writes that the "overrepresentation of statistical and policy reports that place African American males and their low academic performance in the center of the frame only serves to further reify notions of failure when we fail to take up or complicate why this dominant discourse exists in the first place" (p. 343). In this regard, Derrick's situation as an adolescent Black male who enjoys and values reading is more precarious, as current reform policies zero in with monolithic understandings of Black male students and compel schools to adopt blanket instructional practices that ignore and may possibly thwart possibilities for students like Derrick.

Students' Experiences with School Reading Instruction

Dutro and Selland (2012) state, "we need to access as many vantage points as possible to better understand what is at stake in test-driven reforms for teachers, schools, the public school system in the United States, and most importantly, for children" (p. 341). The critiques of federal mandates for literacy learning range from an overall lackluster increase in student achievement (Granger, 2008; Luke, 2012) to the pressures to teach commercial reading programs and test preparation (Abrams, Pedulla, & Madaus, 2003), resulting in a diminution of rigor and critical thinking skills and processes in instructional activities (Zacher Pandya, 2011). As the primary beneficiaries of this reform, students' experiences and perspectives provide acute insight into the success and shortcomings of the actual enactment of accountability and standardization policies.

Though few in number, studies that center on student perspectives about current educational reform are compelling. Paris, Roth, and Turner (2000) found that as students progressed through years of schooling, their attitudes toward standardized test taking and school in general grew increasingly more negative. Additionally, their perceptions of self-motivation, self-competence, and self-control became more tied to their achievement on tests, skewing their understanding of what they had actually learned, as well as what they had accomplished overall, in school. Dutro and Selland (2012) found that only students who scored at the proficient level or above spoke positively about high-stakes testing. Other studies corroborate the finding that making student learning and academic

success contingent on high-stakes, standardized assessments leads to students' feelings of boredom, anxiety, pessimism, and cynicism about learning in school (e.g., Wheelock, Bebell, & Haney, 2000). In this article, I add to this critical, but limited research by examining the impact of accountability and standardization movements on one student's overall experiences with reading in school. Given this contextual background, Derrick's case is especially illuminating regarding the disconnection and disillusionment with school that often characterize Black adolescent males, but for reasons that reach beyond the individual school to larger questions about contemporary literacy education.

THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

To analyze Derrick's responses to his formal educational experience with reading, I draw upon sociocultural theories of literacy, which highlight the inextricable relationship between the diverse, sociocultural identities and practices of literacy learners and teachers (Gee, 1990, 1996; Heath, 1983; Street, 1995). Interactions with texts are not a result of individual practices, but are grounded within social contexts in which readers interact with others, the world around them, and the text itself in order to construct meaning (Duncum, 2004; Freire, 1970; Gee, 1996; Street, 1995). In this respect, literacy occurs beyond the confines of a classroom, in all social spaces, for varied purposes, and according to historical and institutional ideologies (Collins, 2000). In this way, various discourses, or culturally authoritative ways of constructing and organizing knowledge (Foucault, 1980) guide our understandings of literacy engagement. Not only are the ways in which we read texts influenced by our individually lived experiences, what we have come to know about the world, and the discourses we use to construct that meaning, they are also reinforced through our interactions with texts. A student's school literacy experiences, then, are rooted in the institution's historically social and cultural practices and are continuously shaped by interactions between student and teacher, student and peers, and student and text.

Furthermore, literacy is also a politically dynamic endeavor, conveying and maintaining particular ideologies that value some ways of constructing meaning from texts and silence others (Gee, 1999; Luke, 2000). School literacy instruction is never neutral, but is dependent on various discourses used in literacy interactions that wield power in the context of the classroom. Thus, reading in school involves drawing on one's individual discourses to negotiate the discourses used in literacy learning within the classroom. My use of the terms *reading* and *literacy* indicates my conception that what we do with texts and how we construct meaning from them are always socially situated, discursively constructed, and politically charged.

RESEARCH DESIGN

This qualitative case study stems from a larger ethnographic study on the reading identities of urban poor and working-class middle school students of color (Enriquez, 2009). Case studies call attention to the significance of one's experiences in specific contexts

and under particular circumstances to reveal how meaning is negotiated (Bogdan & Biklen, 2003; Dyson & Genishi, 2005). For the case study reported in this article, I sought answers to the following questions: (1) What opportunities did City School offer to Derrick to nurture his skills, interests, and identities as a reader? and (2) How did Derrick experience those opportunities on a daily basis? Focusing on the case of Derrick aligns with my goals to problematize overgeneralizations of low-income Black adolescent males and to consider how the challenges that confront a student are rooted not only in the student but stem from the many, complex layers that construct formal reading education in school.

The Participant

As previously introduced, Derrick was a 12-year-old Black male student in Charles' eighth-grade ELA class. He lived with his mother, older brother, younger sister, grandmother, and cousin in a working-poor neighborhood some distance from the gentrified part of the city where City School was located. Derrick was new to the school at the start of the academic year, while many of his classmates had attended City School since sixth grade. With a generally easygoing personality, Derrick had formed friendships with a few other students in his class. Math was his favorite subject, and it was where he scored his highest grades. Although he had been suspended for three months in second grade for concerns associated with his behavior, this event did not seem to have had a lasting effect. In our conversations, he told me that overall, he enjoyed school and learning.

Context of the Study

City School was located in a former working-class section of a major city in the Northeast that has been undergoing gentrification, as the large industrial school building now sat among quaint coffee shops, hip boutiques, and residential properties renovated from small apartment buildings into expensive brownstone townhouses. However, City School retained an ethnically and socioeconomically diverse student population for grades 6–8. Of its approximately 640 students, 50% were Black, 40% were Latino, 2% were Asian, and 8% were White. In addition, 54% of students qualified for free lunch. Like many of his classmates, Derrick commuted to school via public transportation.

Students took reading and writing classes each day, which were often scheduled back-to-back to allow teachers a 75-minute ELA block. The administration endorsed a balanced literacy and workshop model for reading instruction, process-oriented approaches considered fairly progressive in an era of test-driven reform measures. The school employed a prominent, local professional development organization to help teachers implement these approaches, and the school's literacy coach provided daily in-house and in-classroom professional development to support the organization's work with teachers. Within this instructional model, faculty taught curricular units for reading that provided students with an array of strategies for reading and writing in a variety of contexts and for a variety of purposes, rather than a specific body of literature or set of authors. For example, reading lessons emphasized ways to trace

character development and identify main ideas in narrative texts. Additionally, to ensure that students were appropriately challenged, they were expected to read “just right” books (Fountas & Pinnell, 1996) in school, that is, books that matched students’ individually assessed reading levels. ELA teachers used the Fountas and Pinnell (1996) leveling system to determine students’ reading levels at least three times per academic year. In this system, the levels range from A to denote an emergent reading level to Level Z to denote an adult reading level. Metacognition was also highlighted as an important process for students to employ to reflect on their own processes and interests while reading. Rather than teach the content of certain texts, City School’s curriculum focused on teaching readers how to read and respond to a variety of books, poems, stories, and articles.

City School’s students were assessed annually at each grade level with the state’s standardized test in reading. As the test was administered in mid-January, much of the ELA instruction immediately after the school’s winter holiday break concentrated on test prep skills (e.g., writing to answer prompts, analyzing timed reading passages, etc.). During the fall months, however, ELA teachers addressed the tested skills more indirectly and focused on other curricular goals. For example, Charles worked to increase students’ reading stamina throughout the fall, while also teaching genre units on historical fiction novels, poetry, and informational articles. Instruction focused on the state test became less explicit after the test was administered in January.

Compared to many urban schools with high-needs student populations, City School’s curriculum and overarching philosophy of community building seemed refreshing. Students met every day after lunch for an advisory period, designed to bolster the school community by developing more personal relationships between teachers and students and offering a time and place to explicitly discuss the confluence and collision of issues in urban education and adolescence, especially as they affect students’ lives. Moreover, faculty and administrators continuously articulated a goal to overcome popular stereotypes about urban adolescents of color as at-risk or delinquent by working to create a supportive school community and providing balanced literacy instruction.

The situated discursive context of Derrick’s ELA class offered additional possibilities for him to develop his reading skills and interests. The combined identities of Derrick’s teacher, Charles, as an educated Black man who grew up in a working-class family and lived in neighborhood like Derrick’s helped establish him as an effective mentor. Charles accentuated the importance of what he called “authentic reading” and “lifestyle habits,” referring to real-world purposes for engaging with texts and framing lessons with examples of what “real readers” do. He also repeatedly expressed his concern for developing students who would become what he called “independent readers.” In this context, *independent reading* refers to a component of balanced literacy instruction in which students read self-selected texts by themselves for an extended period of time. Prior to independent reading time, teachers often

taught strategies, skills, and behaviors students could draw upon while reading, and followed up with individual students in one-to-one conferences or small group work. As a Black man from a working-class background with a specific interest in teaching disadvantaged students, and as an advocate for progressive, student-centered instruction, Charles worked to position himself as a mentor when it came to reading and writing, seeking to help students cultivate their own interests and purposes for literacy learning and to pay heed to the holistic needs of students as members of a classroom community.

Embracing the motto, “teach the student, not the book,” Charles began the year establishing pedagogical structures that allowed students ample time for independent reading with books and magazines of their own choosing. His instruction helped to situate academic activities within a nonacademic world, lending them salience and emphasizing the benefits of reading in students’ everyday lives. To this end, he relaxed some assignments and conventional disciplinary procedures to help students engage in authentic reading. For example, he rarely required students to sit in their assigned seats while reading unless they were disrupting the work of students around them. Charles admitted he was not a stickler for rules, but that he would enforce them when necessary. Thus, the context of this classroom offered students new possibilities for reading, with regard to both curricular decisions and classroom management. It would seem, then, that this context would have helped Derrick thrive as a reader at school.

Data Collection and Analysis

Data consisted primarily of fieldnotes from classroom observations and individual interviews collected throughout one school year. Observations occurred two to three times each week, from late September through the end of June. Interviews with the student and the classroom teacher occurred twice in the year for approximately 30 minutes each. Supplemental data included audio recordings from interviews, video recordings of classroom activities, school- and student-produced documents, and individual interviews with other school faculty.

Data analysis followed a constant comparative procedure, affording flexibility to generate themes while coding data (Glaser & Strauss, 1967/1999). Each week, I synthesized comparable data into narrative reflections, outlined motifs and concepts, and began formulating my understandings of the data. I also sought opposing and anomalous examples from the data set to challenge my initial interpretations, build a more critical analysis, and ensure that the process would remain inductive, recursive, and reflexive (Bogdan & Biklen, 2003; Janesick, 1994; Marshall & Rossman, 1999). Three salient themes emerged, supporting Derrick’s critical stance toward his reading experiences at school: (1) a reflective articulation of the content and types of texts promoted in schools, (2) an emerging cognizance of hidden and alternative values supported through school reading instruction, and (3) a purposeful employment of his own agency to negotiate and make sense of the conflicting messages about reading that surrounded him.

Researcher's Subjectivities and Reflexivity

For this study, I was an observer/participant (Bogdan & Biklen, 2003), which recognizes how my position within the classroom continuously shifted because of the ebb and flow of power within any social context and my multiple subjectivities as an Asian American female from a working-class background, a former middle school ELA teacher and literacy staff developer, and a university researcher. Among students, I became a “tolerated insider” as they learned I was not a City School authority figure but still an adult outside their peer networks. My research with the diverse student population at City School, and especially Derrick, stemmed from my personal and professional interests in challenging the assumptions made about students because of their raced, ethnic, classed, and gendered identities, and in stressing the many variations of students’ responses to literacy learning when any combination of those identities are present.

While analyzing data, I also looked to several “critical friends” (Miles & Huberman, 1994) whose perspectives as colleagues and researchers provided an evaluative lens for my interpretations. These critical friends identified assumptions and alternatives regarding my analyses when I shared my preliminary interpretations with them approximately twice a month.

FINDINGS

“I See It as Reading”: Differing Definitions of Reading and Readers

When asked about his specific reading interests, Derrick listed an array of genres, authors, and formats for printed texts. He leaned toward fantasy, action, and adventure stories and was a fan of works by Rick Riordan, Darren Shan, and Stephanie Meyer. He also avidly read *anime* and had several Japanese comic books in his backpack to read as he travelled to and from school. Derrick even readily admitted he enjoyed reading romantic poetry, a genre that continues to be socially and culturally “unsuitable for boys” (Grieg & Hughes, 2009), expounding, “*I like poetry that comes from the heart. That you can feel the emotions with.*” He took great pride in his versatility as a reader and in his ability to share and recommend titles to classmates:

When I read, I’m reviewing something. I’m like a trendsetter. Like when I was reading Twilight, my friend said, “Oh, what’s that?” I said, “It’s a book,” and I gave it to him. The next thing you know, everyone’s reading it.

Derrick also enjoyed discussing texts with peers and playfully teased others about the books they read. One morning, Derrick and his classmate Arnold began jocularly comparing books in the *Artemis Fowl* series (Colfer, 2001–2012) to the *Cirque du Freak* series (Shan, 2004–2008):

Arnold: *That’s your opinion. You say Cirque du Freak is better, and I say in my opinion Artemis Fowl is better.*

Derrick: *I say come over here.*

Arnold: *All right, I will. Hold on. (finishes packing his sweatshirt into his backpack and setting his supplies on his desk, then walks over to Derrick’s table) Okay, I’m over here. (Derrick smiles, puts one hand on Arnold’s stomach, and gently pushes him away). Yeah, that’s what I thought.*

This playful confrontation between classmates underscores the personal interest and value Derrick placed on reading. He therefore perceived himself as a leader among peers when it came to reading and positioned himself in class as a strong reader.

However, Derrick felt he received incongruous messages about reading and expressed his frustrations with trying to both play by the school’s rules and pursue his reading interests. Like many adolescents, he lamented that school authorities did not sanction the topics and genres he enjoyed reading. He voiced this opinion almost immediately in my first interview with him:

Derrick: *I like Japanese cartoons and books and—basically, I like Japan. Anything from Japan. Origami, books, graphic novels, comic books, TV shows, everything . . . Almost everything.*

Grace: *Do you get to read any of that in school?*

Derrick: *(shakes head) No. ‘Cause they only—‘cause really the school only like—the Board of Ed—America so they don’t really bring graphic novels in that much. . . . It’s like—it’s like a comic book, but it’s—it’s a book version, you know? I see it as reading.*

Here, Derrick communicates awareness that his school privileged certain kinds of texts as worthwhile reading material. When I asked City School’s literacy coach, Leslie, about a graphic novel that Derrick had accidentally left in class, she commented, “*Yeah, a lot of kids read those for fun.*” With the phrase “for fun,” Leslie drew a distinction between texts students read for academic purposes and those that counted as leisure reading materials. This distinction not only implied that the latter set of texts were not considered valuable beyond entertainment purposes, but also, that such genuine pleasurable interactions were not necessarily expected with the materials officially used for reading instruction. Derrick, on the other hand, did not modulate the kinds of texts he read in school, though he was cognizant that school officials did.

Other observational data indicate that City School adhered to a traditional institutional definition of text as passages of written language that were most often traditional novels (Lankshear & Snyder, 2000). Though classes engaged in independent reading, and students were given a good deal of choice of titles for independent reading, the overwhelming majority of texts in the school and ELA classroom libraries were novels and short story and poetry collections. City School did not particularly stress the reading of canonical texts, and like Charles, many teachers in the school advocated for the reading of young adult novels among students, citing their literary quality and level of interest to students. Yet instruction did not systematically include the reading of magazines, graphic novels,

comic books, and other published materials, even though they were sometimes available for students. Despite its progressive instruction of reading strategies over prescribed texts, curricular units of study still centered on conventional genres (e.g., historical fiction, nonfiction, poetry), literary elements (e.g., character, setting), and thematic inquiries (e.g., coming-of-age stories). Text was defined more broadly in the situated context of Derrick's ELA classroom, where students occasionally enjoyed the option of reading magazines and graphic novels during independent reading time and once or twice viewing a film for discussion. However, those moments were rarely tied to the school's reading curriculum.

This privileging of mainstream definitions of text and reading was influenced by the school's work with a particular professional development partner, but it was also shaped by a larger concern in education about student achievement. Flood, Lapp, and Bayles-Martin (2000) note four levels of defining text in schools: exposure to the classics (level one), beyond the classics (level two), teaching with visual media (level three), and production of visual media and alternative texts (level four). Levels one and two comprise much of the content of standardized tests, while levels three and four can be challenging for schools to implement, let alone assess in a pragmatic standardized way. The opportunities in Derrick's classroom extended the notion of text to levels two and three, as Charles encouraged students to pursue authentic reading experiences during class time. However, when officially assessing students as readers, neither he nor the other ELA teachers at City School drew upon their engagement with magazines, film, or texts considered subpar to novels and poetry.

In addition to Derrick's definition of text, his practices as a reader often clashed with an expectation, promoted by national attentiveness to standardization and competition, about how students should engage in reading. Derrick was often reading a variety of books simultaneously and always knew which title he would pick up next. Once, he even had two titles he wanted to read and was simply waiting for Charles to procure them for the classroom library. What many might call enthusiastic reading, though, was viewed as hasty and perfunctory in school. According to school assessments, Derrick was reading at Guided Reading level W at the beginning of the year and then at level Z, which is appropriate for eighth graders (Fountas & Pinnell, 1996), when reassessed during the winter break and again at the end of the year. However, Charles, Leslie, and other faculty reprimanded him at times for not following along with class lessons or the text that the class was reading and discussing together. Due to his varying inattention to whole class texts, he sometimes completed reading assignments incorrectly or answered comprehension questions inaccurately, influencing how teachers identified him as a reader. Despite crowning Derrick as *"the king of literacy at home,"* Charles also described him as *"a chronic outpacer"* who constantly switched books during classroom independent reading time. The conflict between the requirements of the classroom and the intense personal interest in reading self-selected texts presented a challenge to both Derrick and his teachers.

Teachers at City School often cited benchmark goals for reading rate to motivate their students that focused on both the number of pages and number of books completed in a given amount of time. For example, when Charles and Leslie asked students to record the number of pages they read each day in their reading logs, one student asked, *"We can't just write [the number of pages] on Post-its?"* Charles answered, *"A log is more official"* and *"An eighth grader in [this city] should read 30 pages a day."* Though Derrick easily met that goal, he did not regularly do so one book at a time, thus characterizing his reading practices as distracted. In actuality, Derrick's log indicated he had sometimes read more books than his classmates, just not in the linear fashion that was formally taught to students.

Leslie also relayed a similar message to Derrick's class when she taught a lesson about setting goals for reading, by emphasizing the importance of quantifiable reading progress:

The kids at the best schools in the city are reading three hours a day, and that's not just during independent reading. My own reading goal was to go up five to 10 pages every day or night for three days.

It can be argued that this view is rooted in an effort to combat the negative outcomes of a phenomenon described by Stanovich (1986) as "Matthew effects," where students with more opportunities, exposure, and time spent reading will experience greater gains in their reading growth, while those with fewer opportunities, exposure, and time spent reading will continue to fall further behind their more fortunate peers. Leslie's words of encouragement had the risk of failure, however, as they emphasized pace and contest more than genuine meaning making and engagement. In other words, without adequate explanation to students about why and how increasing the amount of time they spend reading could ultimately benefit them, what was stressed is the measurement and management of time and behavior. That these messages were conveyed in daily instruction and not just during test prep season demonstrates how deep into the school's instructional milieu the nation's preoccupation with testing and accountability had penetrated.

This tension between institutional beliefs and Derrick's personal values about reading resulted in contrasting views of Derrick as a reader, especially at school. Because Derrick's behaviors with texts did not always comply with what teachers expected, he seemed to confuse and frustrate teachers. In these examples, his choices about which texts to read and when to read them were purposeful and meaningful, albeit off-task. But however authentic or engrossing his interactions with those texts, they still carried less weight than reading novels within the school. Nor did his ability to read several novels at once convince many faculty of his reading progress. Along with Derrick's subpar performance on assignments related to whole-class texts, his determination to read diverse kinds of texts or to read them according to his own timeline did not appear academically beneficial to school authorities.

“They Don’t Want Us to Read”: Mixed Messages about the Value of Reading

Derrick traced the development of his enjoyment of reading to a trying time in his elementary school education. In second grade, he was frequently reprimanded for disruptive and uncooperative behavior and was transferred to another second grade class:

So I got switched in one class for about a day. The next day, the teacher didn’t want me back in his class, so I had to sit in the guidance counselor’s on in-house suspension for three months, and I was just reading. I have bad pronunciation because of that day ‘cause I was not in class learning how to pronounce words. But I learned how to read. Like [if] I was to say a word in my head, I would know what to say, but saying it out loud, my tongue get tied.

In this interview, I grasped Derrick’s budding sense of ulterior purposes for formal classroom-based reading instruction and his understanding that the act of reading and his engagement with printed texts did not necessarily depend on discrete skills or an official curriculum or pedagogy. Rather, his purposes for reading were deeply personal.

In his ELA class, Derrick also noticed and critiqued inconsistent messages about reading. In September, Derrick described the class as *“the best class I actually read in,”* and he reliably volunteered his vast knowledge about books, magazines, and authors with teachers, classmates, and myself. However, he was especially disgruntled after taking the state test for his grade level:

Derrick: *One minute [teachers] want you to read, the next minute you can’t read. Like [Charles’s] class. Before—before the test he wanted to stress about reading. Reading, reading, reading. Now that we did the test, he want to stop us from reading. Like, they always do that. And then they expect us to have that kind of stamina. Like if the test was to pop up again, he’d be like, “What? What happened to your stamina? Ya’ll used to always read.” He make us read twenty, ten minutes a day now. Before, we used to read the entire—for the whole period.*

Grace: *Why do you think that is?*

Derrick: *‘Cause he wants to focus—focus on writing [workshop].*

Here, Derrick implicitly identifies three reasons for developing students’ reading stamina that are promoted in many schools: to prepare for the amount of reading required on standardized tests; to build capacity for sustaining interest in a text; and to promote reading volume (Stanovich, 1986). Months before the state test, I observed a “whole period” of reading, during which students were encouraged to read their self-selected novels. Charles praised the class for their accomplishment, and students asked if they could spend more class sessions the same way. Derrick’s exasperation during this interview stemmed not just from a regulation of his actions and time, but also a ready downplaying of reading in light of other curricular demands. Moreover, his frustration reveals a lack of clarification and explanation about the

different purposes for reading, whose conflation seemed genuinely confusing to him.

Derrick also noted that reading in school was not esteemed universally or equally among his teachers. Although many teachers declared it was a useful experience for students to engage in, not all considered it an acceptable way for students to spend time in their classes, especially content area teachers who legitimately needed students to learn the content they were responsible for teaching and to meet the achievement goals for the subject matter. In addition, it confused Derrick to have a practice that had been encouraged in elementary school deemed unacceptable at this level.

Derrick: *So in math class, I’m always the first one finished in like five minutes. So I start to read. [The teacher] starts to yell at me: “Pay attention.” I say, “I’m done.” She’s like, “Oh, well, let me check it.” I got a 100. She gave us—she gave us a math quiz . . . On the multiple choice, I got a 100 and I got five other—four other questions I got wrong ‘cause I didn’t do it. So she going over the multiple choice part, ‘cause everybody messed up on it. And she said, “Derrick, pay attention.” And I was like, “I got a 100 on it.” She said, “Oh. Just sit there.” I started to read. “Oh what you doing?” I said, “You gonna tell me—you said, ‘Stop working.’” She said, “Well, still, you can’t read. Pay attention. This is my math class.” They always saying when you finish your work, a good thing to stop you acting up is reading. But they won’t let you read!*

Grace: *Because it’s math?*

Derrick: *Not even in math. In advisory . . . [The advisory teacher] won’t let you read. My advisory teacher get mad at me.*

Grace: *And so . . . how do you feel about that?*

Derrick: *I said, “They don’t want us to read in one class, and they don’t want us reading in the other class.” . . . I don’t know. We all had to sit in one class in elementary school. And the one teacher said, “When you finish with your work, you either put your head down or read.” So I grew up reading after I finish my work. But [here] they won’t let you read, so like, they should let you read in other classes if that’s the case.*

To Derrick, such conflicting directions communicated that many teachers upheld a pretense about the importance of time that was spent reading at school. Though that significance seemed a mantra for fostering students’ reading achievement, what Derrick experienced signifies a tension teachers felt between accountability pressures and other—perhaps sometimes more personal—goals for teaching. Research shows that, while a climate of high-stakes testing has noticeable impact on teachers’ classroom practices, it is not the only factor that shapes what teachers do (e.g., Cimbricz, 2002; Marchant, 2004). For example, Derrick’s math teacher was protective of students’ time and attention to her content area, a reasonable

stance in order to ensure that students gained academic knowledge in math. She may also have been mindful of the influence of testing outcomes that induce concern about students' math achievement. Given Charles' strong beliefs about "real-world purposes" for literacy learning and attending to students' holistic needs, he may have forgone the time and attention he gave to independent reading to ensure that students also had ample learning experiences with writing and other forms of literacy and language arts. Nonetheless, the mixed messages Derrick perceived about the value of time spent reading indicates the expectations and stress teachers felt to both remain true to their professional convictions and responsibilities and to ensure students' achievement on tests.

Furthermore, the comment that students were expected to "put your head down" as an option after completing assignments accentuates concern about classroom management that preoccupies many teachers in high-needs, urban schools. Derrick not only perceived the difference between the two options the teacher offered him, but he also understood that reading was the more personally productive of the two. In fact, by reiterating that his teachers were "always saying when you finish your work, a good thing to stop you acting up is reading" and then exclaiming, "But they won't let you read," he highlighted not just the irony of the situation, but the counter productivity of such a statement. By telling students to put their heads down, teachers may gain control over classroom behavior, but at the expense of their professional goals to support students' growth as readers and engaged learners.

"You Can't Just Suddenly Stop": Defining and Identifying Himself as a Reader

From a young age, reading was something Derrick claimed as his own. Additionally, reading seemed to serve as a coping and calming mechanism:

[Growing up], I always had to hear my mother yell and all—my grandma and my brothers—so I learned how to read. I learned how to do everything by myself. I really didn't have anybody to teach me . . . I don't like being around aggressive environments, 'cause then I start to go how I was when I was little . . . My counselor taught me how to control my anger. It's just that being in that kind of environment, and I would just wig out. I would hit the first thing when walking in. [Now] I would walk out into the hallway or in my room and start to read.

Derrick's strategy of turning toward reading allowed him to manage his anger and provided him a form of escape from the tribulations of his daily life whether at school or at home.

This purposeful repositioning of himself as a reader in order to deal with conflict contributed to his perception that reading was a personally valuable and worthy endeavor. Charles' approach to reading instruction, therefore, initially seemed to suit Derrick well. In turn, Charles described Derrick to me as "the king of literacy at home," noting Derrick's commitment to reading beyond his time in class and relating a story to me about encountering Derrick after school one day:

The bus was late. I ran into him at the bus stop, and he had his mad face on . . . And he told me the bus was like twenty minutes late, and he was so mad that he just pulled out a book and started reading.
(laughs)

This auspicious acknowledgement of Derrick's reading practices outside of school, however, did not easily match how faculty viewed him within the official institutional space of the classroom. When his genuine interest in reading and readiness to do it any time diverted from teachers' curricular or management plans, they were seen as disruptive or deviant. Again, I do not mean to critique teachers' desire or need to attend to their content instruction. What frustrated Derrick was a lack of clarification or consistency about when self-selected reading was appropriate in school. Thus, Derrick sometimes took matters into his own hands. Frustrated that his ELA class began favoring writing workshop over reading after taking the state test, he explained,

But you can't just suddenly stop something . . . [Charles] just read any book. Like the books we read, we actually get into. That's why I went down to the library [under pretense of finishing his writing assignment] today. 'Cause I wanted to keep reading my books.

Certainly, focusing on writing is a legitimate ELA curricular decision, and Charles' assignment was purposeful and well intentioned. However, students commonly undermined a regulation of reading time by asking to complete writing workshop assignments in the library. Though most returned to class with some evidence of their writing work, many also left and returned with books to read. I also observed Derrick ignore Charles' directions to stop independent reading time and switch focus onto a different literacy activity (e.g., whole class read-aloud, independent writing, test prep) so he could continue reading his own texts. Derrick thus carved out his own time for reading regardless of the official duration of reading time in school. He did not let inconsistent expectations or his frustrations with such mixed messages dissuade him from reading. Nor did he fully accept teachers' decisions to limit time to read in order to attend to other curricular needs. Instead, perhaps to the detriment of his learning academic content, he sometimes subverted the rules, opting to pursue his reading interests and to maintain the value he held in that experience.

DISCUSSION

Derrick's perceptions about the value and practice of reading differed from what he was told and taught at school. While taking pride in reading a variety of textual genres and formats, he felt dissuaded from reading anything other than administration-approved novels, poems, and stories in class, and from reading in ways that made sense to him. Additionally, he recognized some discrepancies between what teachers said and did to promote student reading, within and across classrooms. Derrick attempted to comply with institutional norms and teachers' rules about reading, but he also refused to let them quash his own reading interests and beliefs. He often positioned himself with agency, subverting authorities to

take charge of his own reading growth. Yet, as a result, teachers interpreted that subversion as indicative of social deviance and difficulties with reading. Thus, what Derrick struggled with as a reader was not necessarily the skills assessed on standardized tests and in classroom assignments, but the behaviors around reading he was told to pursue in school, often because of the pressures of test-driven activity that was highlighted at certain times in the academic year.

Like many high-needs urban schools across the nation, City School worked to combat stereotypes about its student population and to attend to social, economic, and cultural factors in students' lives that impact their academic experiences. Adopting a balanced literacy and workshop approach was a significant attempt to focus on those goals in reading instruction, as they hinge upon student-centered pedagogy and student self-selection of reading materials. And yet, the regime of accountability, standardization, and high-stakes testing has become so formidable that even those progressive instructional approaches have become suffused with messages and pressure to track student achievement in quantified and competitive ways. At City School, these discourses resulted in teachers conveying mixed messages about what reading involved, especially around what, how, and when to read.

Moreover, City School cited goals of independent reading, but such goals were actually different from and clashed with the construct of authentic reading that Derrick heard daily from teachers. Au, Carroll, and Scheu (1997) raise the crucial distinction between independent reading and *voluntary reading*, explaining that while both activities involve reading silently and individually, only the latter describes what people do for recreation or genuine interest:

Voluntary reading occurs when people read because they want to enjoy the experience of reading, adopting what Rosenblatt (1978) calls the aesthetic stance. . . . Voluntary reading, an important part of ownership of literacy is a habit that can bring students pleasure throughout their lives. Teachers can do much to encourage voluntary reading, including reading aloud, sharing their own literacy with students, and giving book talks. (p. 158)

Conversely, independent reading was an instructional feature in City School's model of balanced literacy. Given this distinction, Charles seemingly intended to boost *voluntary reading* with his talk of authentic reading, but the school's practice of independent reading did not fully serve those intentions. Rather, the conflation of terms offered students potentially contrasting messages about which reading performances were ultimately desirable (i.e., read of your own volition, but make sure to do it during designated class time). Additionally, teachers of other disciplines had justifiable reasons to restrict students' reading of self-selected texts in their classrooms. Some may have even seemed to confuse the goals and purposes of reading, perhaps seeing the pleasurable aspect of voluntary reading as too leisurely and not academically oriented enough. The muddling of terms and values accentuates the power of institutional norms, the impact of current federal policies, and

the multiple conflicting discourses influencing Derrick's school reading experiences all positioned him to be a weaker reader than he was outside of school.

When the discourse about reading in schools is inconsistent, students can grow acutely aware of any insincerity or even hypocrisy in the promise of formal education. Stuckey (1990) argues that educational discourses extol the benefits of literacy learning and then systematically identify and exclude students who do not perform reading according to school dictates and national measures. This agenda, while often subconscious on the part of school faculty and administrators, is also an undercurrent of federal policies and targets especially poor and working-class students of color. As a result, many students who regularly engage meaningfully with texts are erroneously viewed as struggling (Fairbanks & Ariail, 2006) and quickly learn that the promised benefits of a formal education are deceptive (Finn, 1999).

Furthermore, Derrick's perceptions support findings that the constant scrutiny of low-income Black males' school literacy learning and an overrepresentation of their achievement profiles in federal reports and mandates (Haddix, 2009/2010) still centers on concerns about social behavior (Matthews, Kizzie, Rowley, & Cortina, 2010). Even Charles's messages about reading were embroiled with issues of classroom management and achievement measures within the school context. Higgins and Moule (2009) found that when faced with the real, day-to-day complexities of teaching low-income African American urban students, teachers believed that more teacher-directed, authoritarian approaches to classroom management communicated genuine care for students' growth. In fact, Higgins and Moule (2009) found that many teachers combined these approaches with high expectations for academic achievement. And yet, as Derrick's case exemplifies, when the messages students receive about social behavior and regulated time conflict with messages about expectations for engaging in reading or learning, one wonders about the effectiveness of such messages.

My point is not to champion reading over other content knowledge, but to reconsider how our messages and views about reading conflate and conflict with one another in our national discourse, across teachers, and within our own classroom walls. Schools have a responsibility to teach academic knowledge and are under pressure to meet state standards and curricular goals and to make adequate yearly progress. High-needs urban schools continue to fall under the surveilling gaze of policymakers, making the stakes for them truly high. This constant scrutiny affected even more progressive teachers, like Charles, and limited teachers' perspectives about reading.

Derrick's concept of reading, his interest in a variety of texts, and his determination to read despite teachers' regulations prompt serious consideration about what we as teachers, administrators, and policymakers mean when we profess a desire for students to read. While the school aimed to prepare its diverse, urban student population with a mindset to achieve academically, hegemonic discourses about test-driven reform and social control were embedded

throughout its daily operations. By focusing on the behaviors and processes of reading in ways that emphasized time and pace over meaningful engagement, reading lessons inadvertently worked to regulate students' interactions with printed texts, with teachers positioned to surveil students' reading performances and help schools make normalizing judgments about what students could or could not do while reading (Foucault, 1995; Gallagher, 1999).

Derrick's reading of texts he found personally engrossing, when and how he wanted, was a way to resist and thwart the disciplinary regime operating in some schools, even those with progressive curricula and well intentioned teachers who genuinely care about students' academic growth. In doing so, Derrick was not acting in ways that were purely defiant or rebellious, as popular adolescent development discourses might insist. Rather, his performances were acts of agency—though not always conscious or voluntary—that enabled him to pursue his own interests. These goals, combined with the relegation of these texts as unsanctioned, prevented school authorities and other students from seeing his engagement with such texts as worthwhile reading performances.

CONCLUSIONS AND IMPLICATIONS

In an educational climate dominated by constrictive policies and understandings about literacy learning, what can we do to help readers like Derrick sustain his appetite for reading while ensuring the growth of his knowledge and skills? A starting point is to establish that the effort is not just the responsibility of ELA teachers; rather, a schoolwide effort is imperative. Teachers must honestly and collectively reflect on such questions as: What values about when and what to read are communicated in our classrooms? Are they consistent with what is communicated throughout the year and throughout our school? Perhaps before initiating a reading experience, one might ask whether its primary purpose is to nurture students' reading development, to manage classroom behavior, or to improve standardized test scores. Meeting with teachers at other grade levels and in other content areas to discuss expectations about student reading would also help to identify any discrepancies that exist across the faculty and work to establish shared goals and consistent messages across classrooms.

Another approach is to put one's own estimations aside and investigate how individual students perceive themselves as readers. If any of those identities conflict with teachers' perceptions, inquiring into why such discrepancies exist would be a next step. These kinds of investigations are what Kamler and Comber (2005) mean by insisting that teachers must engage in "turn-around pedagogies" that position students as capable and purposeful rather than incapable and resistant. To do this, teachers must conduct careful, continual, and open-minded observations of their students to better determine what they are doing with texts, why they are doing so, and how to build upon their purpose and momentum to better support them as readers. We must take a moment to observe what kinds of texts our students enjoy reading on their own time and consider how we support their reading of a variety of genres and

formats, even if they are not officially included in the school curriculum. For example, incorporating more picture books into reading instruction could support their reading of graphic novels, as both text types require students to attend to visual and print details to construct meaning. Though Lapp, Wolsey, Fisher, and Frey's (2011/2012) survey of teachers' perspectives and use of graphic novels in the classroom reports that the texts are still not largely utilized as primary classroom materials for reading instruction, teachers generally agreed that reading graphic novels was of high interest among students and held worthwhile possibilities for supplementing students' reading instruction.

Researchers, administrators, teachers, and community members must also continue sharing counterstories like Derrick's, and to ensure they represent the diverse range of stakeholders affected by federal education policy (Dutro & Selland, 2012; Granger, 2008). This means continuing to bring the voices of students to the fore, since their interests are what reform efforts purport to honor, and to spotlight not just what they experience in reading instruction during testing season but also on a daily basis, across the school year, and across grades. Another step may be to continue constructing powerful examples of counterpraxis that document the tremendous improvement in outcomes at schools that tenaciously commit to educational goals beyond standardized achievement scores (e.g., Fecho, Coombs, & McAuley, 2012; Luke, 2012). These are not easy feats, but helping to change a political milieu that restricts students' reading growth more than it assists means guaranteeing that students have the opportunity to learn to read the world along with the word (Freire, 1970).

As schools shift toward implementing the *Common Core State Standards* (National Governors Association Center for Best Practices & Council of Chief State School Officers, 2010), these recommendations and considerations are vital for ensuring clear and robust understanding of the role of reading and of texts. Derrick's example serves as a crucial reminder that the meaning and value of reading is not just in the text, but also in the experience of it, and he articulates an urgent need for schools to align their practices with that understanding. How we as educators shape opportunities for reading, and how we respond to students' responses to those opportunities communicates the actual value we place on reading. Thus, we should not be surprised that students can discern the discrepancies, scoff at the irony of our ways, and critique us. Without clear, consistent expectations and guidelines, we may be setting up students to adopt behaviors and approaches with texts that conflict with our real hopes for them as learners and readers.

Derrick's protests underscore the pervasiveness of test-driven reform and a misunderstanding of students' abilities as readers. Yet they also affirm the resilience and agency many low-income urban adolescent males of color display regarding their own literacy education. Derrick's determination to pursue his interests in reading, amid the sometimes contradictory and confusing communication surrounding him, is heartening, but I think it would be preferable for students to flourish with our help, not despite our most well-meaning efforts.

References

Abrams, L. M., Pedulla, J. J., & Madaus, G. E. (2003). Views from the classroom: Teachers' opinions of statewide testing programs. *Theory into Practice*, 42(1), 18–29.

Afflerbach, P. (2005). National Reading Conference policy brief: High stakes testing and reading assessment. *Journal of Literacy Research*, 37(2), 151–162.

Au, K. H. (2007). Culturally responsive instruction: Application to multiethnic classrooms. *Pedagogies: An International Journal*, 2(1), 1–18.

Au, K. H., Carroll, J. H., & Scheu, J. A. (1997). *Balanced literacy instruction: A teacher's resource book*. Norwood, MA: Christopher-Gordon.

Barron, B., & Darling-Hammond, L. (2008). How can we teach for meaningful learning? In L. Darling-Hammond (Ed.), *Powerful learning: What we know about teaching for understanding* (pp. 11–70). San Francisco, CA: Jossey-Bass.

Bogdan, R. C., & Biklen, S. K. (2003). *Qualitative research for education: An introduction to theories and methods* (4th ed.). Boston, MA: Allyn and Bacon.

Brozo, W. G., Walter, P., & Placker, T. (2002). "I know the difference between a real man and a TV man": A critical exploration of violence and masculinity through literature in a junior high school in the 'hood. *Journal of Adolescent & Adult Literacy*, 45(6), 530–538.

Cimbricz, S. (2002). State-mandated testing and teachers' beliefs and practice. *Education Policy Analysis Archives*, 10(2), 1–22.

Collins, J. (2000). Bernstein, Bourdieu and the new literacy studies. *Linguistics and Education*, 11(1), 65–78.

Comber, B. (2012). Mandated literacy assessment and the reorganisation of teachers' work: Federal policy, local effects. *Critical Studies in Education*, 53, 119–136.

Cummins, J. (2007). Pedagogies for the poor? Realigning reading instruction for low-income students with scientifically based reading research. *Educational Researcher*, 36, 564–572.

Duncum, P. (2004). Visual culture isn't just visual: Multiliteracy, multimodality, and meaning. *Studies in Art Education*, 45(3), 252–264.

Dutro, E., & Selland, M. (2012). "I like to read, but I know I'm not good at it": Children's perspectives on high-stakes testing in a high-poverty school. *Curriculum Inquiry*, 42, 340–367.

Dyson, A. H., & Genishi, C. (2005). *On the case: Approaches to language and literacy research*. New York, NY: Teachers College Press.

Enriquez, G. (2009). To be a reader: Urban students of color performing reading and identity in an English language arts classroom (Unpublished doctoral dissertation). Teachers College, Columbia University, New York, NY.

Fairbanks, C. M., & Ariail, M. (2006). The role of social and cultural resources in literacy and schooling: Three contrasting cases. *Research in the Teaching of English*, 40(3), 310–354.

Fecho, B., Coombs, D., & McAuley, S. (2012). Reclaiming literacy classrooms through critical dialogue. *Journal of Adolescent & Adult Literacy*, 55, 476–482.

Finn, P. J. (1999). *Literacy with an attitude: Educating working-class children in their own self-interest*. Albany, NY: State University of New York Press.

Fisher, M. T. (2007). *Writing in rhythm: Spoken word poetry in urban classrooms*. New York, NY: Teachers College Press.

Flood, J., Lapp, D., & Bayles-Martin, D. (2000). Vision possible: The role of visual media in literacy education. In M. A. Gallego & S. Hollingsworth (Eds.), *What counts as literacy: Challenging the school standard* (pp. 62–84). New York, NY: Teachers College Press.

Foucault, M. (1980). *Power/knowledge: Selected interviews and other writings 1972–1977* (C. Gordon, Ed.). New York, NY: Pantheon.

Foucault, M. (1995). *Discipline and punish: The birth of the prison*. New York, NY: Vintage.

Fountas, I. C., & Pinnell, G. S. (1996). *Guided reading: Good first teaching for all children*. Portsmouth, NH: Heinemann.

Freire, P. (1970). *Pedagogy of the oppressed*. New York, NY: Continuum.

Fuhrman, S. H., & Elmore, R. F. (Eds.). (2004). *Redesigning accountability systems for education*. New York, NY: Teachers College Press.

Gallagher, S. (1999). An exchange of gazes. In J. L. Kincheloe, S. R. Steinberg, & L. E. Villaverde (Eds.), *Rethinking intelligence: Confronting psychological assumptions about teaching and learning* (pp. 69–84). New York, NY: Routledge.

Gallego, M., & Hollingsworth, S. (Eds.). (2000). *What counts as literacy? Challenging the school standard*. New York, NY: Teachers College Press.

Gee, J. (1990). What is literacy? In C. Mitchell & K. Weiler (Eds.), *Rewriting literacy: Culture and the discourse of the other* (pp. 3–11). Westport, CT: Greenwood Publishing Group, Inc.

Gee, J. (1996). *Social linguistics and literacies: Ideology in discourses* (2nd ed.). London UK: Taylor & Francis.

Gee, J. P. (1999). Critical issues: Reading and the new literacy studies: Reframing the National Academy of Sciences report on reading. *Journal of Literacy Research*, 31(3), 355–374.

Glaser, B. G., & Strauss, A. L. (1967/1999). *The discovery of grounded theory: Strategies for qualitative research*. New York, NY: Aldine deGruyter.

Granger, D. A. (2008). No Child Left Behind and the spectacle of failing schools: The mythology of contemporary school reform. *Educational Studies*, 43, 206–228.

Grieg, C., & Hughes, J. (2009). A boy who would rather write poetry than throw rocks at cats is also considered to be wanting in masculinity: Poetry, masculinity, and baiting boys. *Discourse: Studies in the Cultural Politics of Education*, 30, 91–105.

Haddix, M. (2009/2010). Black boys can write: Challenging dominant framings of African American adolescent males in literacy research. *Journal of Adolescent & Adult Literacy*, 53, 341–343.

Hansen, C. C., & Zambo, D. (2010). Boys in the club: Exploring positive male archetypes with preschool males. *Literacy Research and Instruction*, 49(1), 40–66.

Heath, S. B. (1983). *Ways with words: Language, life and work in communities and classrooms*. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press.

Higgins, K., & Moule, J. (2009). "No more Mr. Nice Guy": Preservice teachers' conflict with classroom management in a predominantly African-American urban elementary school. *Multicultural Perspectives*, 11(3), 132–138.

Janesick, V. J. (1994). The dance of qualitative research design: Metaphor, methodolatry, and meaning. In N. L. Denzin & Y. S. Lincoln (Eds.), *Handbook of qualitative research* (pp. 209–219). Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.

Kamler, B., & Comber, B. (2005). Contesting deficit and designing turn-around pedagogies. In B. Comber & B. Kamler (Eds.), *Turn-around pedagogies: Literacy interventions for at-risk students* (pp. 1–14). Newtown, NSW: Primary English Teachers Association.

Kunjufo, J. (1982). *Countering the conspiracy to destroy Black boys*. Chicago, IL: African American Images.

Ladson-Billings, G. (1992). Reading between the lines and beyond the pages: A culturally relevant approach to literacy teaching. *Theory into Practice*, 31(4), 312–320.

- Lankshear, C., & Snyder, I. (2000). *Teachers and techno-literacies: Managing technology and learning in schools*. Sydney, NSW, Australia: Allen & Unwin.
- Lapp, D., Wolsey, T. D., Fisher, D., & Frey, N. (2011/2012). Graphic novels: What elementary teachers think about their instructional value. *Journal of Education*, 192(1), 23–35.
- Lee, C. D. (1993). *Signifying as a scaffold for literary interpretation: The pedagogical implications of an African American discourse genre*. Urbana, IL: National Council of Teachers of English.
- Luke, A. (2000). Critical literacy in Australia: A matter of context and standpoint. *Journal of Adolescent and Adult Literacy*, 43(5), 448–461.
- Luke, A. (2012). After the testing: Talking and reading and writing the world. *Journal of Adolescent and Adult Literacy*, 56(1), 8–13.
- Marchant, G. J. (2004). What is at stake with high-stakes testing? A discussion of issues and research. *Ohio Journal of Science*, 104(2), 2–7.
- Marshall, C., & Rossman, G. B. (1999). *Designing qualitative research* (3rd ed.). Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.
- Matthews, J. S., Kizzie, K. T., Rowley, S. J., & Cortina, K. (2010). African Americans and boys: Understanding the literacy gap, tracing academic trajectories, and evaluating the role of learning-related skills. *Journal of Educational Psychology*, 102(3), 757–771.
- Miles, M. B., & Huberman, A. M. (1994). *Qualitative data analysis: An expanded sourcebook* (2nd ed.). Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.
- Millard, E. (1997). *Differently literate: Boys, girls, and the schooling of literacy*. London, UK: Falmer.
- Morrell, E., & Duncan-Andrade, J. (2004). What they do learn in school: Hip-hop as a bridge to canonical poetry. In J. Mahiri (Ed.), *What they don't learn in school: Literacy in the lives of urban youth* (pp. 247–268). New York, NY: Peter Lang.
- National Governors Association Center for Best Practices & Council of Chief State School Officers. (2010). *Common Core State Standards for English language arts and literacy in history/social studies, science, and technical subjects*. Washington, DC: Authors.
- Noguera, P.A. (2003). The trouble with Black boys: The role and influence of environmental and cultural factors on the academic performance of African American males. *Urban Education*, 38(4), 431–459.
- Paris, S. G., Roth, J. L., & Turner, J. C. (2000). Developing disillusionment: Students' perceptions of academic achievement tests. *Issues in Education*, 6(1/2), 17–45.
- Pearson, P. D. (2007). An endangered species act for literacy education. *Journal of Literacy Research*, 39, 145–162.
- Rosenblatt, L. (1978). *The reader, the text, the poem: The transactional theory of the literary work*. Carbondale, IL: Southern Illinois Press.
- Stanovich, K. E. (1986). Matthew effects in reading: Some consequences of individual differences in the acquisition of literacy. *Reading Research Quarterly*, 21(4), 360–407.
- Street, B. V. (1995). *Social literacies: Critical perspectives on literacy in development, ethnography, education*. London, UK: Longman.
- Stuckey, J. E. (1990). *The violence of literacy*. Portsmouth, NH: Boynton/Cook.
- Tatum, A. W. (1999). Reading and the African American male: Identity, equity, and power. *Journal of Adolescent and Adult Literacy*, 43(1), 62–64.
- Tatum, A. (2005). *Teaching reading to Black adolescent males: Closing the achievement gap*. Portland, ME: Stenhouse.
- Taylor, D. (2004). Not just boring stories: Reconsidering the gender gap for boys. *Journal of Adolescent and Adult Literacy*, 48(4), 290–298.
- Wheelock, A., Bebell, D. J., & Haney, W. (2000). Student self-portraits as test-takers: Variations, contextual differences and assumptions about motivation. *Teachers College Record*. Retrieved from <https://www.tcrecord.org/Content.asp?ContentID=10635>.
- Zacher Pandya, J. (2011). *Overtested: How high stakes accountability fails English language learners*. New York, NY: Teachers College Press.

Young Adult Literature

- Colfer, E. (2001–2012). *Artemis Fowl* series. New York, NY: Viking.
- Shan, D. (2004–2008). *Cirque du freak* series. New York, NY: Little, Brown, & Company.

Author's Note

I wish to thank Marcelle Haddix and Maria Franquíz for their thoughtful feedback on earlier drafts, as well as the support of the Literacy Research Association STAR Fellows Program. This study was generously funded by a dissertation fellowship from the American Association of University Women and a Spencer Foundation Research in Training Grant.

Grace Enriquez is an assistant professor of language and literacy at Lesley University. Professor Enriquez can be reached at genrique@lesley.edu.

Fostering Social and Cultural Capital in Urban Youth: A Programmatic Approach to Promoting College Success

AMANDA K. SOMMERFELD, WAYNE STATE UNIVERSITY AND PAUL BOWEN, TRINITY BOSTON FOUNDATION

ABSTRACT

Bachelor's degree attainment has become essential for U.S. labor market participation. However, degree attainment is differentially accessible across racial and economic lines. One explanation of degree disparities is that urban students often lack the social and cultural capital needed to succeed in higher education institutions. This article focuses on the Trinity Education for Excellence Program (TEEP) that has been successful in developing capital and promoting college enrollment and completion for urban youth through values-based instruction. Recommendations describe how TEEP's approach can be applied in homes, schools, and community youth organizations.

INTRODUCTION

A recent report by the Brookings Institute (Rothwell, 2012) concluded that in order for American urban youth to participate in the U.S. labor market, they must earn a four-year college degree. With approximately 43% of current job openings in metropolitan areas requiring a bachelor's degree, far more jobs are available in urban areas than there are qualified workers. Research conducted at the Georgetown Public Policy Institute concludes that across the country "more than half" of the 2 million jobs "added during the recession . . . have gone to workers with a Bachelor's degree or better, even though these highly educated workers make up just a little more than a third of the labor force" (Carnevale, Jayasundera, & Cheah, 2012, p. 2). These findings suggest that urban youth must complete at least a bachelor's degree to ensure occupational security and enjoy the psychological and social benefits that such security provides (De Witte, 1999).

In the last 40 years, the U.S. Department of Education (2010) has documented national gains in college enrollment and degree attainment. These data also reveal stark inequalities in higher education access and completion for students of color from low-income families, many living in urban areas. For example, in 2008, White students comprised 63% of the students enrolling in post-secondary education, a proportion 4.5, 5.25, and 9 times greater than their Black, Hispanic, and Asian peers, respectively. Whereas 61% of Asian and 55.7% of White enrollees earned a 4-year degree within five years, only 42.5% and 34.4% of Hispanic and Black students had similar outcomes. College graduation rates vary across economic groups as well. Whereas students from economically privileged backgrounds graduate from college at a rate of 66.1%, only 39.6% of their moderately or highly economically

disadvantaged peers earn a 4-year degree (U.S. Department of Education, 2003). Taken together, these data suggest that despite whatever gains in rights and access to opportunities have been made by low-income people of color, debilitating educational disparities that threaten equality persist in the United States.

One explanation for disparities in degree attainment across cultural groups is based on the work of Pierre Bourdieu (1984). Bourdieu theorized that individuals are accepted by and prosper in settings when they are familiar with the values and practices of those settings and can use that familiarity as capital. Scholars have applied this idea to higher education. Surmising that lack of capital can serve as a significant risk factor for degree attainment for urban youth, researchers have found that providing low-income, first-generation college students with the type of capital valued in higher education supports college persistence to earn a degree (c.f., Astin, 1993; Berger, 2000; Corwin, Venegas, Oliverrez, & Colyar, 2004; McDonough, 2005; Tierney & Venegas, 2006; Wells, 2008; Yosso, 2005).

Best practices for providing urban youth with the type of capital that contributes to college persistence have not been established. However, many programs have shown positive outcomes that hold promise. The purpose of this article is to review how one program, the Trinity Education for Excellence Program (TEEP), has succeeded in promoting college success for urban youth through capital development grounded in respectful values-based education. The article concludes with a discussion of how TEEP's practices might be adopted by schools and other groups to support educational persistence.

Social and Cultural Capital in Education

Individual colleges and universities have distinct organizational cultures, but as a whole, these institutions privilege certain values and behavioral practices. When students demonstrate these favored values and practices, they are allowed access and privilege. Bourdieu (1984) referred to that which enables access and privilege as *capital*, and distinguished between several types, including *social capital* (relationships held and groups to which one belongs) and *cultural capital* (familiarity with forms of knowledge, skills, and behaviors). In the case of higher education, some forms of social and cultural capital include: pragmatic knowledge, such as how a college schedule is arranged and how to find resources on campus; skills, that include how to organize unstructured time in order to complete tasks; and interpersonal capabilities, such as knowing how to speak to professors and anticipating what can be expected in social interactions with peers (Conley, 2005).

The association between capital and educational outcomes has been well documented. In independent studies numerous scholars (c.f., McDonough, 2005; Weinstein & Savitz-Romer, 2009; Wells, 2008; Yasso, 2005) have supported Berger's (2000) conclusion that students are more likely to persist to graduation if they possess greater levels of institutionally valued capital. In terms of social capital, evidence suggests that students with more social and personal connections to college-educated adults have greater college enrollment and persistence when networking (Forsyth & Adams, 2004) and mentoring (Zalaquett & Lopez, 2006) relationships are drawn on for interpersonal assistance (Wells, 2008). Similarly, students with greater cultural capital (i.e., knowledge of systemic and behavioral tricks of the trade about how to "do" college) have shown more positive educational outcomes (c.f., Roscigno & Ainsworth-Darnell, 1999).

Similarity between social norms and values of early school and home cultures and those of higher education institutions often guarantees that many economically stable or privileged White students enter higher education settings already possessing considerable capital they can leverage for success in college (Weinstein & Savitz-Romer, 2009). Perhaps due to greater felt entitlement for higher education (McDonough, 1997; Weinstein & Savitz-Romer, 2009), less hesitancy to seek assistance or challenge educators (Lareau, 2011), greater feelings of belongingness (Freeman, Anderman, & Jensen, 2007; Walton & Cohen, 2007) or more implicit and explicit instruction in how to prepare for and navigate higher education institutions (Conley, 2005), these privileged youth rarely experience cultural incongruence in transitioning to college (c.f., Tyler et al., 2008).

The same may not be true for low-income, first-generation students of color (Carter, 2003). For these students, differences between home cultural values and those esteemed in colleges and universities often result in insufficient institutionally legitimized capital that could support degree attainment. In response to these discrepancies, numerous scholars and practitioners have concluded that in order to close gaps in educational attainment across cultural groups, student disparities in higher education capital must be overcome (c.f., Dumais, 2002).

Promoting Capital Development in Urban Youth

Challenges can arise when instilling in urban students the knowledge, values, and behaviors esteemed by institutions of higher education. First, in being introduced to behavioral patterns and values that are privileged in higher education, urban students may receive the message that their home culture is deficient (Yosso, 2005). Such conversations could introduce the potentially deleterious repercussions of assimilation rather than acknowledge the sociopolitical influences that necessitate bicultural competence. Second, parents and educators in primary and secondary schools are the most common purveyors of capital, thus their awareness, experiences, and resources often determine the type of capital to which students are exposed (Orr, 2003). Lacking familiarity with or means to higher education capital development, caregivers and educators may not

be able to expose urban youth to the social norms and values of higher education institutions. As a result, families and schools have turned increasingly to community-based college preparatory, leadership development, and mentorship programs, *inter alia*, as means of capital development in order to promote college aspirations and completion (Gullatt & Wend, 2003).

As has been noted, best practices for developing higher education capital in urban students have not been established. However, based upon what is known to date, many programs integrate capital development into programming. In turn, such programs show rates of degree attainment by those who complete the program that far surpass national averages. The Trinity Education for Excellence Program (TEEP) is one such program. Located in Boston, Massachusetts, TEEP is a values-based program offering college preparatory programming that emphasizes capital development. In the only published report of TEEP to date, the nonprofit research and consulting firm Root Cause documented that 100% of TEEP graduates attended college in the fall following their graduation from high school, and of these, 100% have earned, or are on track to earn, their bachelor's degree in five or less years.

TEEP outcomes are noteworthy given the population from which students are drawn. As a program located in Boston that draws students from the Boston Public Schools (BPS), rates of college enrollment and graduation of TEEP students far surpasses those of their BPS peers, 64% of whom enroll in college, and only 35.5% of whom graduate from two- or four-year institutions within six years (Sum et al., 2008). A description of the TEEP program, including its history, student population, mission, and program development and a review of the ways TEEP develops social and cultural capital in students follows.

THE TRINITY EDUCATION FOR EXCELLENCE PROGRAM (TEEP)

History

TEEP was developed as an extension of the Trinity Educational Enrichment Program offered through Trinity Episcopal Church in New Orleans, Louisiana. The program in New Orleans began in 1973 with the aim of "instilling a love for learning and providing a space for personal growth" (Trinity Episcopal Church, 2011, para. 2) for low-income kindergarten through sixth-grade students in the New Orleans area. This mission was accomplished through academic and arts programming offered during a six-week summer program. When the outreach minister at Trinity Church in New Orleans, William Barnwell, was called by Trinity Church in Boston to serve as the priest in charge of outreach, he requested and was provided with funding so the program could be replicated in Boston.

TEEP Boston began in 1999 with a similar mission as the New Orleans program, but targeted seventh- through twelfth-grade students. The decision to serve older students in Boston was made in consultation with several Boston Public School principals, professors of education at local universities, and various professionals

working with the Boston court system. These professionals advised Mr. Barnwell and his new co-founder, Paul Bowen, that a TEEP summer program would be most effective at “catching” youth in Boston who are in danger of dropping out of high school and/or not going to college by targeting students in middle school. The recommendation was made in consideration of the widely disparate drop out rates across Boston Public Schools that ranged between 0.1% and 69.8% in the 2001–2002 school year (Boston.com, 2010). TEEP retained the intensive values-based summer arts and academic programming and added year-round programming that emphasized leadership development. The model was successfully replicated in Washington, DC, from 2005–2008, but was forced to close due to budget cuts by the Episcopal Church.

Mission and Program Development

The goal of TEEP is “to create a safe community where every member is inspired to discover, empowered to achieve excellence, and individually affirmed” (Trinity Boston Foundation, 2011, para. 1). This goal is met by introducing students to the values and mission of the program in middle school. When the students enter high school, values education is paired with leadership training that is put into action when they work as counselors to the middle school students. The foundational values of TEEP are central to programming.

In middle school, the students are taught the meaning and application of the values of the 5 R’s: Respect (including respect for oneself, for others, for one’s community, and for the environment), Responsibility (making intentional decisions and being accountable for the decisions and the commitments that we make), Restraint (that students do and can have control over their own thoughts and actions and therefore, can affect the outcomes of their choices), Reciprocity (practicing gratitude and giving back to our community because we are grateful for what we have received), and Redemption (forgiveness of self and others in service of empathy development and community wellbeing). In high school, these values are extended to include the 3 I’s: Intentionality (being aware of aims and motives and reflective about why choices are made), Integrity (using underlying values to guide words, actions, and choices so that behaviors are consistent across settings), and Influence (reflecting on who and what is affecting them and their behavior and how their behavior is affecting those around them).

In the first few years, the program was reportedly successful, with anecdotal evidence that students were internalizing the values of the curriculum and developing leadership qualities. However, as the first TEEP class entered high school, the staff discovered that many students lacked the expectations, support, or knowledge to plan for college. Over the next few years the TEEP staff developed Road Map to College, a comprehensive college preparatory curriculum completed by all TEEP high school students. Along with the programming, this curriculum translates values-based education and leadership development into cultural and social capital students can draw on in high school and beyond.

Recruitment

At the time TEEP began in Boston, there were numerous summer programs that also assisted students with academic and personal development. However, few of these peer programs served both middle and high school students, and the majority had financial or academic requirements that excluded large segments of the Boston Public Schools population. TEEP targeted these underserved youth.

Students begin TEEP at the end of their sixth-grade year, consistent with the mission to serve students early enough to influence high school placement and college success. Students are recruited based on referrals from educators at seven partner schools, including five Boston Public Schools and two Public Charter Schools. After referrals are made, the student and his or her parents are required to complete an entrance interview. Students are asked about their desire to be in the program, and the family is asked about its ability to provide support for the attendance policy and program expectations. Only five students are accepted from each partner school, and preference is given to siblings of current or previous TEEP students. Each year TEEP also receives referrals from the Massachusetts Department of Children and Families (DCF), who are seeking summer programming for students in their care. No consideration is given to students’ current academic performance or financial resources.

Student Population

The TEEP inaugural class of 1999 included 30 seventh-grade students. Since then, the numbers have increased each year, resulting in a 2009 summer enrollment of 97 seventh through ninth-grade students. The middle school students were supported by 31 high school students, all matriculated through TEEP, and by 24 adult staff members (12 college students, 10 certified teachers, and 2 directors). Of the 12 college students, 11 were TEEP graduates.

TEEP students represent the cultural and economic diversity of the neighborhoods in which they live. According to the Root Cause report, in 2010, TEEP students were 65% Black, 19% Hispanic, 7% Asian, and 3% White (7% of students identified as “Other” or did not specify their race or ethnicity) (Root Cause, 2010). This report also suggests that, according to national economic standards, 20% of TEEP students live in households with an annual income that places them below the federal poverty level. Another 55% are classified as “low-income.” The majority of students have at least one parent who has graduated from high school (52%). An additional 20% of TEEP parents have less than a high school diploma, 15% have graduated from a 2-year college, and 13% hold a Bachelor’s degree or higher.

Funding

The TEEP per student expenditure is \$3,225 annually (Root Cause, 2010). This price includes all academic and arts programming, weekly field trips, and meals. TEEP is offered free of charge to all students, with the exception of a one-time refundable \$30 attendance deposit for the summer program. This deposit is a way to

promote parental investment in the program and is returned at the end of the summer if families follow the attendance policy. Trinity Boston Foundation (TBF), the parent organization that is responsible for fundraising and grant writing, provides funding for TEEP.

The TEEP Approach to Building Social and Cultural Capital

Cultural capital development. The demographics of TEEP students closely match the population of youth expected to lack the type of capital valued in higher education: 75% are raised in low-income or below-poverty level families and begin their educations at local, underperforming public schools. At least 91% are students of color, and 87% have caregivers who do not hold a 4-year degree (Root Cause, 2010). Given these characteristics, TEEP students represent the population of American youth most at risk of not enrolling in or graduating from college.

To combat national trends, TEEP builds initial cultural capital by addressing college aspirations. Unlike many of their higher-income, suburban peers, the majority of TEEP students do not have a sense of entitlement for postsecondary degree attainment (Weinstein & Savitz-Romer, 2009). Discussions of the benefits of college and beliefs that they could attend college may have been unusual for TEEP students before entering high school. Therefore, although TEEP students are never explicitly told that they *have* to go to college, they are provided with opportunities to discuss how higher education could fit within their life plans.

At times, discussions of college aspirations are explicit in TEEP programming. Throughout the 6-week summer program, the high school graduates routinely speak to middle- and high-school participants about their plans for college in the fall. Academic programming also emphasizes college readiness. Students' aspirations are further encouraged through implicit conversations about values and community. Particularly when discussing the value of Reciprocity, students are engaged in considering the preparation they need in order to give back to their families and communities in the long-term. Noticeable changes in college aspirations result. Whereas most beginning seventh-grade students offer no plans for higher education, by the end of their first summer most express desires and plans to attend college. By the end of their eighth-grade year, almost all students express a desire to enroll in higher education.

Parents are included in conversations about educational goals and pathways to higher education. Their involvement in TEEP programming is encouraged, and informational sessions regarding TEEP values and striving for educational excellence, including college planning, are held regularly. In this way, parents' educational aspirations for their children are also addressed, and they are provided resources to support their children's educational pursuits. Further, TEEP staff work with students and their families in applying for attendance at higher performing high schools throughout the Boston area to be certain that the students are prepared academically for the demands of higher education, and that families receive additional support in planning for college. In this way, both student and family cultural capital are fostered.

In order to assuage concerns about the financial burden of higher education, TEEP partners with Families United in Educational Leadership (FUEL) that provides financial education and incentives to low income families to assist with college planning. Through this partnership, TEEP students and their families are provided with accurate information about the financial realities of college attendance and are guided in how to begin saving for college. As motivation for prioritizing college savings, FUEL matches family savings up to \$1500.

Once college aspirations are established, TEEP continues building cultural capital by helping students develop college knowledge, the unspoken "rules of the game" that allow students to fluently navigate college (Conley, 2005). For many students, particularly urban students like those serviced by TEEP, it is lack of college knowledge that complicates the college experience. For this reason, TEEP uses multiple resources so students can make informed choices about where to attend college and to feel prepared once they get there.

One way college knowledge is fostered is through explicit instruction in how to approach the college application process. Students are provided with suggestions for how to identify schools to which they will apply, taking into consideration their interests, learning needs, distance from home, and financial resources. The Road Map to College also provides a timeline for when students should identify schools, take required standardized tests, ask for letters of recommendation, draft personal statements, and request transcripts. Parents are informed of this timeline as well, so they will have the necessary information to support their children.

TEEP staff makes it possible for interested students to visit several local colleges and universities during their junior and senior years of high school. During these visits, juniors are encouraged to get a feel for college campuses, and many seniors schedule admissions interviews. The drive is spent reviewing information about the college; considering what to expect during an interview, including possible questions; and practicing responses. Through these visits, students become familiar with many different colleges so that they can make informed decisions about their futures. Such guidance and support is common for privileged youth, whose caregivers are typically aware of the college admissions process and the importance of finding a school that is a good fit. This is not so for many urban youth. By providing such support, TEEP is encouraging cultural capital development.

Pragmatic aspects of cultural capital are also developed at TEEP, as graduates of the program, who are currently enrolled in college, regularly return to describe their experiences at college and share what they have learned about how to be successful. Typically, these conversations focus on the barriers the students have faced (i.e., difficulties with roommates, establishing effective study habits, balancing family and school demands, etc.) and the steps they have taken to overcome the barriers (i.e., learning what resources are available on campus, finding a cohort of peers with shared values through joining groups or activities, describing what college is like to parents and peers back home, etc.). These

conversations are supplemented by additional information provided in the Road Map to College, as well as by informal conversations between TEEP staff and students about strategies that can contribute to college success.

As previously stated, higher education institutions as a whole reward certain student behaviors (e.g., punctuality, self-regulation, interpersonal competency, communication skills, etc.). These behaviors can serve as cultural capital on college campuses. In addition to fostering college aspirations and pragmatic college knowledge, TEEP creates opportunities for students to establish successful college behaviors such as punctuality, self-regulation, and interpersonal competency and communications skills. TEEP teaches students that values are manifest through thoughts and resulting actions. Students are, therefore, encouraged to consider how they can use behavior to engage TEEP values across contexts.

Punctuality is an expectation for students and staff alike. Students are taught, and staff members demonstrate, that in the context of TEEP and in many settings with dominant cultural norms, such as schools and universities, punctuality is considered a sign of respect for others' time and for the task at hand. Middle school students are expected to arrive on time and transition between activities in a timely manner. High school students are required to wear watches and are held responsible for managing their time so tasks are completed on schedule. Scaffolded instruction in time management and forward planning is provided, and high school students have opportunities to put their self-regulatory capabilities into action.

For example, high school students are charged with planning and conducting overnights for middle school students throughout the year. In the fall, high school students are alerted to the dates of overnights but determine the content of the programming on their own. The TEEP staff provides support, but students prepare activities and didactic materials, determine roles they will each take on, and develop ways to evaluate the execution of their plans afterward. Because the students are primarily responsible for the overnights, they are provided with opportunities to practice time management, forward planning, and follow through. Therefore, they practice key college behaviors, including how to identify an end goal and how to plan purposefully to ensure task completion. TEEP graduates cite such experiences as instrumental to later college success, which requires similar self-regulatory skills (Sommerfeld, 2011).

TEEP also develops interpersonal competency and communications skills. Research on college persistence routinely cites faculty and peer relationships as essential for student success (c.f., Stevenson, Buchanan, & Sharpe, 2006–2007; Tinto, 2003). For many urban students, however, peers and faculty at college may have different cultural practices and backgrounds than those they have experienced. Therefore, establishing relationships is sometimes challenging. Informed by this possibility, the staff prioritizes interpersonal competency development and refinement of communication skills throughout the program.

During the first year of the middle school program, students work with cohort members on projects and assignments. For many students, TEEP is the first time they are introduced to culturally different peers, as many of their schools are segregated according to neighborhood demographics. In applying the values of Respect and Redemption, students are encouraged to look for strengths and similarities in others, and to acknowledge that when conflicts occur, reconciliation is possible. Interpersonal competency is further developed throughout the high school program, when students are required to work with their cohorts on long-term projects, engage in self-reflection of their interactions, and mediate conflicts with peers.

In addition to connecting with peers, students interact with adults who closely match the demographics of many college professors (i.e., higher income White adults). Throughout the summer, members of the Trinity Boston Foundation and other potential donors visit TEEP to meet with students. Prior to these visits, the expected behaviors are discussed (i.e., making eye contact, shaking hands, introducing themselves, inquiring if the adult has any questions) as well as the reasons for the appropriateness of the behavior in the given context. This discussion affords students opportunities to reflect on why different behaviors are expected across settings. This reflection is framed as a skill set students can employ in the future.

Finally, in service of developing cultural capital around public speaking, TEEP students are required to speak in front of peer groups and groups of adults. Public speaking is framed as a component of leadership development, and instruction and practice are provided so students feel confident in their presentation skills. In preparation students are given a time limit and a general aim (e.g., what has been learned through participation in TEEP). Feedback is provided following presentations to refine their skills. Through such activities, students develop interpersonal communication skills that can serve as capital in college classrooms and campuses as well as in later life.

Development of Social Capital

Research suggests that students with greater connections to college-educated adults show more positive educational outcomes (Wells, 2008). To establish this social capital, TEEP students build relationships with TEEP staff, other adults in the TEEP community, and TEEP alumni.

High school students mentor middle school students during summer programs. In their roles as counselors, high school students promote the establishment of TEEP values, behavioral expectations, and college aspirations. Once graduated, alumni continue their mentorship, returning to visit TEEP. During these visits, as well as through informal contact, alumni share college experiences and act as role models of educational persistence. Many of the high school students cite relationships with TEEP alumni as a considerable source of social capital. In many instances, alumni are among the few peers who are attending and succeeding in college. These TEEP graduates become resources

and mentors to support the students' own college aspirations and success.

TEEP staff members also provide social capital through mentorship, support, and connections. In addition to establishing relationships with students and their families, they leverage professional connections to create opportunities for students. Relationships with admissions personnel at colleges and universities result in opportunities for admissions directors to make presentations at TEEP. Staff members also draw on connections with professionals in the community to serve as mentors or information sources for students with particular interests. Through these connections, TEEP students are afforded the possibility of beginning college with what many of their higher-income, suburban peers have at their disposal—an established network of college-educated adults who can be relied upon as sources of interpersonal and professional support (Carter, 2003).

These relationships, along with the aspirations, values, and behaviors taught throughout the program, allow TEEP students to enter college without the social and cultural capital deficits that endanger college persistence for many urban youth. In part, this may account for why TEEP students are succeeding in college to a much greater extent than many of their urban peers.

Success, Limitations, and Areas for Growth

The data that were available at the time this article was written provide evidence of TEEP's successes and limitations. TEEP staff members are aware of program limitations and reflective about program features that have contributed to these outcomes.

Most notable of the program features supporting TEEP's success is size. Although enrollment has increased each year since its inception, the program serves a relatively small number of students: 123 seventh- to twelfth-graders in 2009. These numbers are comparable to other youth development programs in the Boston area with similar student outcomes (Root Cause, 2010), and like these other programs, the cap on student enrollment is intentional.

Much of TEEP's success in developing social and cultural capital is grounded in individualized attention and relationships. Students become "known" to the staff, and through relationships, their individual strengths and difficulties are identified and addressed. Developing such relationships requires staff time, and addressing individual needs demands resources. For example, the staff regularly advocates for students at school and are called upon when families are experiencing difficulties. To support academic achievement, TEEP also provides individual tutors for students who are struggling in particular academic areas.

Because of this individualized approach, "scaling up" TEEP without diluting effectiveness is challenging, as demands for staff and resources are extremely heavy. Nonetheless, they have worked with the parent organization, the Trinity Boston Foundation, to secure additional resources for expansion. This funding has allowed TEEP to serve more students in recent years while still prioritizing program effectiveness over size.

Student attrition is also a concern, particularly when students transition from middle school to high school. Entering the high school leadership development program is not a guarantee for all TEEP middle school students. High school students serve as paid summer counselors to TEEP middle school students and are screened by the staff to ensure that they have internalized TEEP values and can model them for younger students. Not all graduates of the TEEP middle school program are able to do so. For example, of the 22 students who completed the middle school program in 2012, 16 were offered admittance to the high school program.

In spite of careful screening for high school program participation, many students decide to leave the program. Involvement in the leadership development program requires considerable time, and many students choose to participate in other school- and community-based activities instead of remaining in TEEP. As a result of attrition, approximately two-thirds of ninth-grade cohorts remain in the program through high school graduation.

These attrition rates may unintentionally bias data regarding the effectiveness of TEEP. It may be that significant differences exist between students who persist in TEEP and those who do not. The former may naturally embody many of the characteristics that allow for college success, making them more likely to enroll in and graduate from college regardless of their involvement in TEEP. Studies are currently underway to examine this possibility, but are in the early stages.

Furthermore, because TEEP is a relatively new program, and the high school program had very small numbers in its early years, limited data were available to measure outcomes. For example, because only seven high school classes have graduated from TEEP, data regarding college enrollment are based on the 44 students who completed the high school program. College completion rates are based on only 14 students. With such small sample sizes, it is not possible to determine the generalizability of program promise.

Despite these limitations, the known educational outcomes for TEEP students are encouraging, even when compared to other successful college preparatory programs, as documented by Root Cause (2010). Based on college enrollment and graduation rates, the seven most effective programs in the greater Boston area, including TEEP, were identified. The size of these programs varied considerably, from a low of 35 students to a high of 967 students served in 2009. Although two of these programs (Break Through Cambridge, Hyde Square Task Force), reported the same 100% college enrollment rate immediately following high school graduation, the other four programs had lower rates of college enrollment, averaging 90.75%. The four other programs reporting rates of college completion in five or six years averaged only 78.5%. These data suggest that even in comparison to other effective programs, TEEP students have been remarkably successful.

In the next section, the lessons that have been learned will be addressed with suggestions for how core aspects of TEEP's approach can be applied in schools and homes in service of promoting college completion for urban youth.

Applying TEEP's Approach in Schools and Homes

Establish college aspirations early. College aspirations are necessary for enrollment and degree attainment, and unless these are established early, adequate college preparation is difficult. For this reason, intervention before and throughout high school is required. By working in concert, middle schools and high schools, community youth organizations, and families can support student aspirations. Through integrated efforts, these contexts can create the college-going cultures (Ramsey, 2008) that establish college aspiration by having students explore what this experience can provide in terms of learning, occupational opportunities, and overall development. The programs can also dispel myths regarding college accessibility, and work with families to explore funding options. By early identification of students' socio-emotional and academic needs, schools, families, and organizations can target individual strengths and areas of growth that can be drawn upon or remediated so students stay on track for college.

Teach college knowledge. College-educated adults often take for granted that students have a sense of what college involves. However for many students, particularly first-generation college students, higher education is a "great unknown," making it difficult to anticipate what college will be like and even more difficult to know what college success requires. By educating students and families about what college involves and providing them with instruction in strategies for success, students can begin to develop college knowledge.

Middle schools and high schools are particularly well positioned to provide this knowledge, as the faculty and administration are college-educated; school counselors, in particular, have experience with the college admissions process. Rather than infringing on instructional time, homerooms, all-school assemblies, informal interactions between school personnel and students, and parent meetings can be used to develop college knowledge for students and their families. These conversations can emphasize how college schedules are structured, what resources are available on campus for individual support, how college clubs and organizations can be used to form positive relationships, and the importance of reaching out to faculty and staff for assistance. In addition, coaches, directors, and mentors in community youth organizations can leverage their roles and relationships with students to discuss college life, including balancing school work with paid jobs and social engagements, resolving conflicts, and identifying sources of support on campus. These activities further support the college-going culture of schools and organizations and allow for the development of college knowledge in students and families who do not have this understanding.

Consider college behavior. "21st century" skills have recently been highlighted as essential for student success (Fain, 2012). By definition, these skills are those that support student achievement by emphasizing higher-order thinking, problem solving, and executive functioning, as well as adaptability (Sommerfeld, 2011). In part prompted by the anticipated assessments of the *Common Core State Standards* (National Governors Association Center for Best

Practices, Council of Chief State School Officers, 2010) that will likely include items that require higher-order reasoning, schools are increasingly focusing on these abilities in their curricula. In addition, more could be done to develop behaviors that promote educational success. Classrooms could be structured so students are held accountable for managing their time, working with peers, seeking assistance from adults, and devising multiple approaches for assignment completion. In doing so, schools can further promote the development of behavior that will support student achievement in higher education.

Parents and caregivers can also support the development of behaviors necessary for success in college. Families can discuss how different contexts may have different behavioral demands and encourage students to consider how they might determine the behavioral expectations in particular situations. Attention should be paid to the fact that culture shapes behavior, and that the culture of different contexts determines how behaviors are judged or valued. School can provide an example of a context different from home, and discussions can center on how similar behaviors at home or at school may be viewed differently. Through these conversations, students can be supported in maintaining an appreciation for their home culture while also developing the bicultural competence that may be assistive in college success.

Develop relationships. Given what is known about the importance of relationships and social capital in educational persistence, students should be assisted in creating and maintaining relationships with adults who can provide interpersonal and professional support for educational persistence. School personnel can at times serve this role, establishing personal relationships with students who can then look to them for guidance or mentorship. However, relationships with adults outside of school are also essential. Leaders in community youth organizations, mentorship programs, and religious institutions; family friends; and older peers and siblings should be encouraged to transfer their own social capital to the students with whom they have contact. Students should be encouraged to identify compatible adults and turn to them for support in post-high school planning.

CONCLUSION

Ameliorating college completion gaps across racial and economic groups is long overdue both for the individual citizen and the continued growth of the American economy and culture. The gap cannot be addressed, however, unless attention is paid to both the academic and contextual factors that affect college persistence. Higher education capital is one such contextual factor. Comprised of valued social relationships (social capital) and contextually specific ways of being (cultural capital), capital can assist students in preparing for and navigating in the college environment and ultimately, support degree attainment. Although many schools and community-based programs are attempting to integrate capital development in programming, these programs often falter as a result of lack of resources (Weinstein & Savitz-Romer, 2009).

The Trinity Education for Excellence Program has shown notable outcomes in assisting urban youth in getting to and through college. Targeting social and cultural capital development through values-based programming, TEEP has developed a method for providing instruction and opportunities for skill development in college aspirations, knowledge, and behaviors. TEEP also fosters relationships between students and college-educated adults. In doing so, TEEP is addressing the needs of urban youth and working to combat the achievement gap that beleaguers the nation. This conclusion is not intended to suggest that TEEP is the only viable option for college preparation, nor that the program is free from limitations. However, there is enough evidence to date that lessons can be taken from the TEEP model and attempted across other settings to encourage additional creative approaches to addressing capital gaps in urban youth.

References

- Astin, A. W. (1993). *What matters in college: Four critical years revisited*. San Francisco, CA: Jossey-Bass.
- Berger, J. B. (2000). Optimizing capital, social reproduction, and undergraduate persistence. In J. M. Braxton (Ed.), *Reworking the student departure puzzle* (pp. 95–124). Nashville, TN: Vanderbilt University Press.
- Boston.com. (2010). *Annual high school dropout rates for Mass. school districts*. Retrieved from: http://www.boston.com/news/local/massachusetts/articles/2010/03/02/030210_dropout_chart/.
- Bourdieu, P. (1984). *Distinction: A social critique of the judgment of taste* (R. Nice, Trans.). Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.
- Carnevale, A. P., Jayasundera, T., & Cheah, B. (2012). *The college advantage: Weathering the economic storm*. Georgetown Public Policy Institute, Center on Education and the Workforce. Retrieved from: <http://www9.georgetown.edu/grad/gppi/hpi/cew/pdfs/CollegeAdvantage.ExecutiveSummary.081412.pdf>.
- Carter, P. (2003). "Black" cultural capital, status positioning, and schooling conflicts for low-income African American youth. *Social Problems*, 50, 136–155.
- Conley, D. (2005). *College knowledge: What it takes students to succeed and what we can do to get them ready*. San Francisco, CA: Jossey-Bass.
- Corwin, Z. B., Venegas, K. M., Oliverez, P. M., & Colyar, J. E. (2004). School counsel: How appropriate guidance affects educational equity. *Urban Education*, 39(4), 442–457.
- De Witte, H. (1999). Job insecurity and psychological well-being: Review of the literature and exploration of some unresolved issues. *European Journal of Work and Organizational Psychology*, 8(2), 155–177.
- Dumais, S. A. (2002). Cultural capital, gender, and school success: The role of habitus. *Sociology of Education*, 75(1), 44–68.
- Fain, P. (2012). Grading personal responsibility. *Inside Higher Education*. Retrieved from: <http://www.insidehighered.com/news/2012/12/13/nc-community-college-issue-grades-certificates-soft-skills>.
- Forsyth, P. B., & Adams, C. M. (2004). Social capital in education: Taking stock of concept and measure. In W.K. Hoy & C.G. Miskel (Eds.), *Educational administration, policy, and reform: Research and measurement* (pp. 251–278). Greenwich, CT: Information Age Publishing, Inc.
- Freeman, T. M., Anderman, L. H., & Jensen, J. M. (2007). Sense of belonging in college freshmen at the classroom and campus levels. *Journal of Experimental Education*, 75(3), 203–220.
- Gullatt, Y., & Wend, J. (2003). *How do pre-collegiate academic outreach programs impact college-going among underrepresented students?* Boston, MA: Pathways to College Network.
- Lareau, A. (2011). *Unequal childhoods: Race, class, and family life* (2nd ed.). Los Angeles, CA: University of California Press.
- McDonough, P. M. (1997). *Choosing colleges: How social class and schools structure opportunity*. Albany, NY: State University of New York Press.
- McDonough, P. M. (2005). Counseling matters: Knowledge, assistance, and organizational commitment in college preparation. In W. Tierney, Z. Corwin, & L. Colyar (Eds.), *Preparing for college: Nine elements of effective outreach* (pp. 69–88). Albany, NY: State University of New York Press.
- National Governors Association Center for Best Practices, Council of Chief State School Officers. (2010). *Common Core State Standards*. Washington, DC: National Governors Association Center for Best Practices, Council of Chief State School Officers.
- Orr, A. J. (2003). Black-White differences in achievement: The importance of wealth. *Sociology of Education*, 76, 281–304.
- Ramsey, J. (2008). *Creating a high school culture of college-going: The case of Washington State Achievers*. Washington, DC: Institute for Higher Education Policy.
- Root Cause. (2010). Trinity Education for Excellence Program. Social Issue Organization Report. Retrieved from <http://rootcause.org/documents/CAAS-MA-TEEP.pdf>.
- Roscigno, V. J., & Ainsworth-Darnell, J. W. (1999). Race, cultural capital, and educational resources: Persistent inequalities and achievement returns. *Sociology of Education*, 72(3), 158–178.
- Rothwell, J. (2012). Education, job openings, and unemployment in metropolitan America. Metropolitan Policy Program at Brookings. Retrieved from <http://www.brookings.edu/research/papers/2012/08/29-education-gap-rothwell#M10420>.
- Sommerfeld, A. K. (2011). Recasting non-cognitive factors in college readiness as what they truly are: Non-academic factors. *Journal of College Admission*, 2011(213), 18–22.
- Stevenson, J. M., Buchanan, D. A., & Sharpe, A. (2006–2007). Commentary: The pivotal role of the faculty in propelling student persistence and progress toward degree completion. *Journal of College Student Retention*, 8(2), 141–148.
- Sum, A., Fogg, N., Khatiwada, I., McLaughlin, J., Palma, S., Motroni, J., Tobar, P., Sullivan, N., & Smith, C. (2008). Getting to the finish line: College enrollment and graduation: A seven year longitudinal study of the Boston Public Schools class of 2000. Retrieved from: <http://www.bostonpublicschools.org/files/Getting%20to%20the%20Finish%20Line.pdf>.
- Tierney, W. G., & Venegas, K. M. (2006). Fictive kin and social capital: The role of peer groups in applying and paying for college. *The American Behavioral Scientist*, 9(12), 1687–1702.
- Tinto, V. (2003). *Learning better together*. Higher Education Monograph Series, No. 2. Higher Education Program, Syracuse University.
- Trinity Boston Foundation. (2011). Trinity Education for Excellence Program. Retrieved from: <http://www.trinityinspires.org/teep/>.
- Trinity Episcopal Church. (2011). Trinity Educational Enrichment Program. Retrieved from: <http://www.trinitynola.com/page.aspx?pid=784>.
- Tyler, K. M., Uqdah, A. L., Dillihunt, M. L., Beatty-Hazelbaker, R., Conner, T., Gadson, N., Henchy, A., Hughes, T., Mulder, S., Owens, E., Roan-Belle, C., Smith, L., & Stevens, R. (2008). Cultural discontinu-

- ity: Toward a quantitative investigation of a major hypothesis in education. *Educational Researcher*, 37(5), 280–297.
- U.S. Department of Education. (2003). National Center for Education Statistics, 1996/01 *Beginning postsecondary students longitudinal study* (BPS: 96/01). Retrieved from: <http://nces.ed.gov/surveys/bps/>.
- U.S. Department of Education. (2010). National Center for Education Statistics, 2001–02 to 2008–09 *Integrated postsecondary education data system, Fall 2001, and Spring 2002 through Spring 2009*. Retrieved from: <http://nces.ed.gov/ipeds/>.
- Walton, G. M., & Cohen, G. L. (2007). A question of belonging: Race, social fit, and achievement. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 92, 82–96.
- Weinstein, L. A., & Savitz-Romer, M. (2009). Planning for opportunity: Applying organizational and social capital theories to promote college-going cultures. *Educational Planning*, 18(2), 1–11.
- Wells, R. (2008). The effects on social and cultural capital on student persistence: Are community colleges more meritocratic? *Community College Review*, 36(1), 25–46.
- Yosso, T. J. (2005). Whose culture has capital? A critical race theory discussion of community cultural wealth. *Race, Ethnicity and Education*, 8, 69–91.
- Zalaquett, C. P., & Lopez, A. D. (2006). Learning from the stories of successful undergraduate Latina/Latino students: The importance of mentoring. *Mentoring and Tutoring*, 14(3), 337–353.

Amanda K. Sommerfeld is an assistant professor of educational psychology at Wayne State University. Professor Sommerfeld can be reached at amanda.sommerfeld@wayne.edu.

Paul Bowen is the Founding Director of TEEP, a program of the Trinity Boston Foundation. Mr. Bowen can be reached at pbowen@trinityinspires.org.

Math Coaching in a Rural School: Gaining Entry: A Vital First Step

SARA HARTMAN, OHIO UNIVERSITY

ABSTRACT

A growing trend across the nation, academic coaching is a popular way for schools to embed professional development within the regular school day. This article presents the findings of a yearlong qualitative case study of a rural school academic coach and her attempts to gain entry to teachers' classrooms to observe and guide their instructional practices. Gaining entry, a vital first step, influences a coach's ability to positively affect student achievement. The findings with regard to insider status, coach identity, trust, staff connections, and teacher resistance provide implications for practitioners and researchers.

INTRODUCTION

Given the nationwide emphasis on accountability, the need to increase test scores is a concern for all schools, but especially schools that repeatedly fail to meet Adequate Yearly Progress (AYP), as defined in the No Child Left Behind Act of 2001. In rural schools, the question of how to raise test scores, while simultaneously facing budget cuts and the ensuing loss of teachers, is at the forefront of every superintendent and principal's list of priorities. Incorporating an academic coach as a form of embedded professional development is a tactic being employed more often across the nation. Academic coaching programs place an individual who is highly qualified with regard to content knowledge and pedagogy in a leadership position with the goal of positively influencing teachers' planning, classroom instruction, and assessment techniques, thereby improving student achievement (Hansen, 2009; Hull, Balka, & Miles, 2009; Knight, 2005; Marsh et al., 2008; Obara, 2010). Due to the unique needs of each school district, academic coaching is rarely the same from one school district to the next (Marsh et al., 2008; Obara, 2010). Regardless of how they function within a school building or district, improving instruction and assessment in order to increase student achievement is the common goal of coaches. To realize this goal, academic coaches must initiate, cultivate, and sustain collaborative partnerships with teachers, beginning with gaining entry to the classroom to learn about instructional practices.

This case study presents the story of Ms. Megan Paugh (the names of people and places are pseudonyms), a first-year math coach in Mining Hills Public School System in a rural area of Appalachia, and her attempts to accomplish this vital first step. With eight years of experience as a math teacher in the school,

Ms. Paugh was appointed as a coach in order to help raise her school's low math achievement scores by providing embedded staff development to the school's math teachers. The primacy and challenge of her initial attempts to gain entry were also identified in Mangin's 2005 study of 12 teacher leaders who moved from the position of classroom teacher to instructional leader.

As the year progressed, Ms. Paugh learned that this goal was endless. Although she was successful in some cases, leading to productive yearlong partnerships, other attempts were met with resistance and became an ongoing source of frustration. Several factors affected her success in gaining entry to teachers' work, including insider status, coach identity, trust, staff connections, and teacher resistance, each of which was influenced by the rural context. The results of this qualitative case study yielded findings and implications with regard to gaining entry and academic coaching that are applicable to both practitioners and researchers.

REVIEW OF THE LITERATURE

The Development of Academic Coaching

The push for academic coaching has been building since the beginning of the national focus on accountability (Driscoll, 2008; Knight, 2005; Moxley & Taylor, 2006; Obara, 2010; Showers & Joyce, 1996). Joyce and Showers (1980, 1981, 1982) first advocated peer coaching as a means of professional development in the early 1980s as a result of studies conducted in the previous decade that revealed the inadequacy of professional development to affect application and transfer to instructional practice. Further, they reported that even teachers who volunteered to attend staff development sessions had low amounts of transfer to their instructional techniques, and they advocated a new means of embedded professional development, stating, "We believe that a major problem in teacher training designs has been the assumption that a skill, once learned, can be 'popped into place' in the classroom (transferred laterally)" (Joyce & Showers, 1981, p. 170). The researchers then studied what happened when teachers engaged in collaborative teams that met frequently and encouraged teachers to practice newly learned skills with a "coach" providing feedback (Joyce & Showers, 1980, 1981, 1982; Showers, 1984). The results of these studies showed that teachers who engaged in a coaching partnership were more likely to adapt their instruction by using new ideas and strategies than colleagues who worked alone (Joyce & Showers, 1996; Showers, 1984). In a 1996 summary of their research findings, Showers and Joyce reported that as few as 10% of teachers actually applied the strategies they learned in formal staff

development sessions to their everyday teaching. This research became a foundation of the coaching movement, which quickly picked up momentum as a form of professional development.

Academic coaching, also called peer coaching, change coaching, or collegial coaching, evolved to be called predominantly academic coaching, content coaching, or instructional coaching (Marsh et al., 2008; Showers & Joyce, 1996). Support for coaching programs has been provided in reports of research (Neufeld & Roper, 2003; Obara, 2010; Showers & Joyce, 1996), and several handbooks for coaches, teachers, and administrators have been published (e.g., Hansen, 2009; Hull et al., 2009). Despite the reported merits of coaching, there remains little empirical evidence linking academic coaching to increased student achievement. Biancarosa, Bryk, and Dexter (2010) have pointed to the need for studies to fill this void.

Proponents of coaching suggest that coaches provide professional development in a more integrated manner than the usual techniques (Chval et al., 2010; Knight, 2005, 2006; Neufeld & Roper, 2003)—for example, day-long in-service sessions, after/before school meetings, or Saturday meetings that may be held outside of a teacher's contracted schedule (Chval et al., 2010). By contrast, academic coaches provide support within the regular school day, a key factor in favor of coaching because it becomes an everyday occurrence rather than a special occasion (Chval et al., 2010; Knight, 2006). Neufeld and Roper (2003) describe the promise of academic coaching as a progressive form of professional development. After conducting hundreds of interviews with coaches, teachers, and principals over the course of six years, they found that coaching programs offer significant benefits to schools by increasing "instructional capacity," (p. 1), a known prerequisite for increasing student learning. They postulate that academic coaching is professional development that supports teaching for understanding and encourages appropriate transfer of information, benefits first advocated in the early 1980s by Joyce and Showers. They suggest that, "it is grounded in inquiry, collaborative, sustained, connected to and derived from teachers' work with their students, and tied explicitly to improving practice" (p. 3).

There is some evidence to support the potential of academic coaches to increase the instructional self-efficacy of teachers with whom they work. According to Bandura (1997), people with high self-efficacy are likely to exhibit greater motivation, put forth greater effort, and be more resilient in the face of setbacks. In a comprehensive study of academic coaches, Marsh and colleagues (2008) administered surveys to literacy coaches in eight of Florida's most populated districts and conducted case studies in three of them. Their findings indicated that two-thirds of reading and social studies teachers who interacted with coaches believed that the interactions helped them to be more confident in their teaching ability.

In a 2008 qualitative study of third- and sixth-grade peer math coaches, Bruce and Ross developed and tested a model that gauged teachers' belief in their ability to increase the achievement of their students. They found that teachers who engaged in peer coaching

partnerships experienced an increase in their beliefs about their abilities as math teachers. The same teachers also felt that their students were performing better as a result of their coaching partnerships. Overall, the study found that coaching as a professional development model had a positive impact on teacher implementation of standards-based teaching. The findings from the 2008 studies of Marsh et al. and Bruce and Ross suggest that if teachers experience an increased self-efficacy in regards to their instructional abilities, there will be a positive effect on the quality of the instruction they deliver to students, thereby increasing students' achievement.

In their study of literacy coaches, Marsh et al. (2008) also found that the number of years a coach worked in a school was related to an increase in student test scores. However, the magnitude of the connection was small, and researchers found virtually no other coaching interventions that were associated with an increase in student achievement. Yoon, Duncan, Lee, Scarloss, and Shapely (2007) found that staff development that is sustained over the course of 6 to 12 months and lasts for more than 14 hours is linked to an increase in student achievement. Theoretically, academic coaching provides this sustained time as embedded staff development. More recently, Biancarosa et al. (2010) reported on a 4-year longitudinal study of the impact on student achievement of a literacy collaborative program that utilized coaches. For the first time, a significant link was found between the services of an academic coach and student achievement. Their findings showed a 32% increase in student knowledge after three years of enrollment in schools using their model of literacy coaching, which included a full year of professional development training for coaches before they began working with classroom teachers. While their study finally identified a significant empirical link between coaching and student achievement, the researchers offered this caution, "Continued research on multiple models of coaching across multiple contexts is needed to resolve whether, and under what conditions, coaching can stimulate improvement in student learning" (p. 28). Despite the call for more research, the work of Biancarosa et al. provides important initial evidence in support of academic coaching.

Rural Schools, Staff Relationships, and Coaching

Over the years, the Census Bureau has made significant changes in the way it counts the country's urban and rural residents. Currently, the Census Bureau defines an "urban area" as a defined territory containing 50,000 or more people and an "urban cluster" as an incorporated territory of at least 2,500 and less than 50,000 people. Rural is defined as encompassing all the population, housing, and territory that is not part of an urban area. As calculated by this definition, approximately 22%, or nearly 60 million people, currently live in rural areas (U.S. Census Bureau, 2000). Characterizing rural school districts creates the possibility of contributing to existing stereotypes about rural locations. Though each rural school is unique, research has identified the following characteristics that may be representative of rural schools: small enrollment numbers,

enrollment decline, high poverty rates, longer school commutes, and associated costs (Chance & Segura, 2009; Hilty, 1999). Characteristics that have been associated with rural schools but which are imperfect ways to think about them include: size and proximity to urban areas and the occupations that provide income, such as farming and coal mining (Gjelten, 1982; Haas, 1991).

Another common characteristic of rural schools explains the relationships between the residents. Rural schools are identified as highly connected to their social settings, and relationships between the school staff and community are interconnected (Chance & Segura, 2006; DeYoung, 1995). Howley and Howley's (2004) work on rural school consolidation found that the small size of a rural school's staff often promotes close relationships, which may allow them to work collaboratively in an organic way to improve instruction. Rural teachers in Monk's (2007) study reported satisfaction with their jobs, citing smaller class sizes and fewer discipline issues. DeYoung (1995) found that rural schools have a strong sense of community, and the people living there feel strong family and community ties. Chance and Segura (2009) reported that teachers who live and work in their rural communities feel strongly that schools are the heart of their communities and consider colleagues part of a large school family.

Yet, rural schools face many challenges today. More people live in metropolitan areas than ever before which contributes to rural schools' dropping enrollment, lowered income bases, and difficulty in attracting and keeping teachers (Herzog & Pittman, 1999; Monk, 2007). Research shows that children in rural schools are identified for special education services more often and for gifted services less often than their non-rural peers (DeYoung et al., 1993; Pendarvis & Wood, 2009; Seal & Harmon, 1995). In rural areas, many children have long bus rides to and from school (Seal & Harmon, 1995). Teachers in rural Appalachia are aware that students face problems that are associated with high poverty, including drug and alcohol abuse, hunger, and homelessness (Black & Sanders, 2004; Mather, 2004).

Offering quality professional development is one way rural schools hope to counteract some of their place-bound challenges. Yet, this endeavor may be difficult as reported in research on rural education. Citing the high cost of professional development to a rural district, Howley and Howley (2005) identify price as one of the major barriers that prevents quality professional development. While academic coaching is one way rural schools can provide quality, embedded staff development, research on academic coaching in rural districts is meager, but promising. In 2011, Rush and Young studied teachers in Wyoming who worked with "Instructional Facilitators" or coaches and found that a majority of teachers wished to continue the practice and felt that spending money for coaches was worthwhile. As Wyoming is classified as a very rural state, this study contributes to what is known about coaching in rural schools. However, as the data were collected across the state, with no distinction between rural and non-rural respondents reported in the results, the findings do not inform coaching in rural schools exclusively.

Understanding how teachers within a rural school and community interact is relevant to understanding an academic coach's attempts to develop collaborative partnerships that allow entry to teachers' classrooms and instructional practices. Though this research is scarce, recent studies have examined collaboration in a rural setting.

Collaborative Partnerships and Gaining Entry

The ultimate goal of coaching is to positively influence teachers' practice, thereby improving student achievement (Knight, 2005; Marsh et al., 2008; Obara, 2010). To this end collaborative partnerships are essential (Knight, 2005; Marsh et al., 2008). As a result of their research, Showers and Joyce (1996) commented, "... teachers learn from one another while planning instruction, developing support materials, watching one another work with students, and thinking together about the impact of their behavior on their students' learning" (p. 4). For an academic coach, gaining entry is an essential first step.

Over the course of three years, Chance and Segura (2009) examined the practices and behaviors of teachers in a rural high school to determine the reasons for sustained improvement over a five-year period. Data, collected in the form of interviews, documents, and observations, consistently revealed that collaboration was at the heart of the change process. Critical to this article is the finding that, because of the rural school's small size, collaboration was easier because relationships between students, families, and staff had existed in many cases for years, creating relationships that were familial in nature.

However, developing a collaborative relationship that is welcomed by the classroom teacher and results in an academic coach gaining entry may be challenging. Recently, a team of researchers studied a group of 14 experienced teachers, who were newly hired as math coaches, over the course of their first year of coaching, and found a number of factors that created impediments to collaborative relationships (Chval et al., 2010). Despite their experience as math teachers, the coaches often could not gain entry to classrooms in spite of attempts to establish trust and confidentiality and therefore, were unsuccessful in establishing working relationships (Chval et al., 2010). L'Allier, Elish-Piper, and Bean (2010) found that the 6 coaches and 19 teachers with whom they worked cited trust and confidentiality as two essential elements of a successful coaching relationship. The belief that a math coach is reporting to school administrators can undermine the collaborative relationship between coach and teacher and may result in a coach being refused entry to classrooms (McCombs & Marsh, 2009).

As this review suggests, while there is recent research on coaching in rural schools, the topic remains critically important and insufficiently studied.

JUSTIFICATION

The scarcity of research on rural schooling has been noted for decades in comprehensive literature reviews on rural education

(Arnold, Newman, Gaddy, & Dean, 2005; DeYoung, 1987; Knapel & DeYoung, 1999; Stapel & DeYoung, 2011; Waters, Howley, & Shultz, 2008). In 1995 DeYoung wrote, "Rural American schools still educate almost 28% of the nation's children, but only educational historians and rural sociologists have paid much attention to issues and dynamics of such places" (p. 168). The research is particularly limited in math education as noted in a literature review written by Waters and colleagues (2008), who found that only 20 studies on the topic were reported between 1985–2001. While the Wyoming study by Rush and Young (2011) makes an initial reference to rural school coaching, it does not examine coaching in a rural context nor report rural teachers' responses separate from those of their non-rural peers. While Mangin (2005) and Mangin and Stoelinga (2011) reported research on how teacher-leaders gain entry to teachers' instructional practices, citing teacher resistance and trust as major challenges, these studies do not focus on coaching in a rural context. Additional research conducted in rural settings that focuses on gaining entry as a first step in academic coaching is needed. The research study reported in this article was intended to address this need.

THE CASE STUDY

Research Site and Participants

Mining Hills Public School is a small public school located in rural northern Appalachia. In most years, the school employs approximately 45 teachers, which includes those who hold fellowships in a nearby university; math and reading intervention teachers; and teachers of art, music, and physical education. During the 2010–2011 school year Mining Hills Public School System had an enrollment of 871 students or about 67 students per grade level in about three classrooms. Nearly 65% of Mining Hills' students qualified for free/reduced lunches, and 25% received special education services. The school community was overwhelmingly Caucasian with only 1.2% from other racial or ethnic groups. Troubling to the whole district, the school had not met AYP for the past six years and spent several years on academic watch, as reported by the state's Department of Education. Given these demographic data, it may be assumed that Mining Hills is like every other poor Appalachian school, yet while the data are important in understanding Mining Hills School District, this information does not fully capture the true essence of the school. Mining Hills is located in a beautiful setting; the hills are forest covered and contain hidden caves and abundant wildlife. The vast majority of the staff lives in the community and knows each other's family and the families of their students. While economically poor, the school is rich in scenic beauty and in the connections within the staff and to the community.

This case study has one primary participant, Megan Paugh, the Mining Hills Public School math coach, who, after eight years experience as a math teacher, was in her first year as a math coach during the year when the data were collected. A 2007 graduate of a small, private liberal arts college with a degree in Middle Level

Education and specializations in mathematics and social studies, Ms. Paugh began her teaching career at Mining Hills. She reports that she always knew she wanted to teach in a rural school, and therefore, "*only applied to rural schools.*" Other participants include: two fifth-grade teachers, three sixth-grade teachers, two seventh-grade teachers, one eighth-grade teacher, a seventh-grade special education teacher, a fifth-grade special education teacher, and the district's literacy coach, all employed by Mining Hills Public School. The classroom teachers' age ranged from late 30s to mid 50s. All had spent their entire careers in rural schools and had at least ten years teaching experience, including three with more than twenty years. While several had earned a master's degree, none had a specialization in mathematics. Grades 5–8 were selected because the math coach and the school administrators determined that the middle grades' test scores showed the greatest need for assistance. The literacy coach, who had been in her position for several years, became a coaching mentor for Ms. Paugh, answering questions, becoming a partner in staff development, and lending emotional support when gaining entry was frustrating.

The Goals and Work of the Math Coach

When queried about a typical day, Ms. Paugh's response was a very emphatic, "*There is no such thing as typical!*" (Interview, October 28, 2010). Early in the year it became clear that, in a rural school, no day would ever be the same as the last. In addition, there were several challenges that are unique to a small district; Ms. Paugh still taught one period of eighth grade algebra, because no one else was certified to teach it. Although she could be found doing occasional outside duty, conducting research for school grant applications, or making copies, the majority of her schedule was devoted to math coaching. Scheduling was another major challenge, because often all math teachers were teaching at the same time, making it impossible to visit more than one class per day per grade level. The customs of a rural school family affected nearly everything, from gaining entry, to teacher resistance, to trust and confidentiality. The deep connections that existed within the staff and community at Mining Hills created a truly place bound experience for Ms. Paugh.

As has been noted, although Ms. Paugh was the math coach for the whole school, she concentrated her efforts on the middle grades. How she provided coaching to these grades and the rest of the teachers was largely up to her. She was guided by her own pedagogical knowledge gained through a combination of teaching experience and undergraduate and graduate coursework, including courses taken in a math coaching program.

Ms. Paugh utilized four methods: (1) indirect correspondence techniques, (2) co-planning sessions with teachers, (3) co-teaching with receptive teachers, and (4) providing professional development by incorporating the district approved problem solving strategy UPSC (Understand, Plan, Solve, and Check) into lesson planning. Although she placed the greatest value on co-planning and co-teaching, the amount of time she was able to spend on each method depended on the willingness of the classroom teacher, which made gaining entry extremely important in accomplishing

her goals. Pedagogically, she focused her work on helping teachers to write and implement assessments, bring more depth to their lessons by incorporating a variety of instructional approaches, and training teachers to implement the district approved problem solving method. Foremost among Ms. Paugh's goals was modeling how to plan and deliver lessons that focused on conceptual inquiry, instead of on memorizing procedures or algorithms.

The previously cited research by Marsh and colleagues (2008) showed a connection between interactions with an academic coach and an increase in teacher self-efficacy, and a link between an increase in perceived self-efficacy and acknowledged success derived from a challenging task or experience (Bandura, 1997; Darling-Hammond & Richardson, 2009). Ms. Paugh did not describe her intention to increase self-efficacy, but she made it a goal to provide opportunities where teachers could experience feelings of success while they explored new and often challenging ideas or concepts related to their teaching. By offering these types of experiences and helping teachers to recognize their successes, Ms. Paugh hoped teachers would gain the confidence they needed to attempt other new instructional practices.

Data Collection

The data included interviews, observations, audio recordings, field notes, and artifacts collected at Mining Hills School during the 2010–2011 school year. A dozen or more informal interviews and six formal interviews with the main participant were conducted. Teachers participating in the coaching program or working with the math coach were also interviewed both informally at least 1–3 times and formally 1–2 times. All interviews were audiotaped and transcribed. On a nearly weekly, sometimes bi-weekly basis, the researcher observed the math coach working with teachers as she attempted to build relationships that would allow her to gain and maintain entry to their classrooms. Observations lasted from a few minutes to an hour or more depending on the type of activity. As has been noted, although Ms. Paugh placed the greatest value on co-planning and co-teaching, the amount of time that she was able to spend engaging in each of the four methods depended on the willingness of the classroom teacher. Consequently, the breakdown of time spent on each method is challenging to quantify, as it varied from teacher to teacher.

Group meetings were audiotaped and transcribed. As recommended by Creswell (1998), at each observation, field notes were kept describing the physical setting, the sequence of events, quotes from participants, and personal reactions. Documents include planning guides for teacher meetings, teaching materials and tools, lesson plans, class and teaching schedules, assignments, Ms. Paugh's monthly newsletters, training material from staff development sessions, and photographs of classroom materials. Hundreds of pages of transcribed written accounts of teacher meetings, interviews, and classroom observations were compiled.

Quantifying success in a study such as this is very difficult. Understanding and evaluating individual relationships were complex and essential parts of the methodology, and consequently,

what was considered successful entry varied from one teacher to another. For some, it was an invitation to attend a planning session, to provide information, or to answer questions. For others, it was an invitation or permission to co-teach. Levels of success also became apparent as the year progressed. For some participants, successful entry was considered being allowed to attend a first or second planning meeting. For others, it was defined as participating in the planning and co-teaching of an entire unit. Factors that were considered in each relationship between the academic coach and classroom teacher were as follows:

- Frequency of interactions—How often did the coach and teacher interact? Did the teacher regularly seek the involvement of the coach? Did the teacher avoid or refuse meetings with the coach?
- Depth of the interactions—Did the teacher approach the coach to discuss new methods and ideas for teaching fractions? Or was the coach merely being asked to help organize math supplies?
- Tone and affect of the interactions—Did the teacher and coach seem comfortable with each other? Was their affect relaxed and their tone friendly? Did interactions between coach and teacher induce feelings of anxiety or stress in either party?

Thus, by examining each partnership between coach and teacher, successful entry was evaluated on a participant-by-participant basis. From both the success stories and the examples of resistance, relevant findings emerged.

Data Analysis

Analysis of these qualitative data was an arduous, intricate, ongoing task that required a concerted effort from beginning to end. Stake (1995) describes data analysis as the process of breaking apart data and putting it back together in a meaningful manner. This process was used to make meaning of the large amount of collected data.

The amount of narrative text was substantial, and at times its analysis felt synonymous with wading through quicksand. Using the guidelines outlined by Creswell (1998), data management was accomplished by creating files that organized the information as the data were collected. The data were read often, and notes were written in the margins. A coding system was created at the beginning and revised throughout the year; thus, categorical aggregation was utilized to identify patterns and multiple instances of data. All the data from observations and formal and informal interviews were transcribed and patterns identified that indicated correlations between math coach practices and positive or negative results in gaining entry. Stake (1995) writes, "Sometimes, we will find significant meaning in a single instance, but usually the important meanings will come from reappearance over and over" (p. 78). From the coded data, examples of single instances or vignettes emerged that were useful examples of direct interpretation.

Direct interpretation and the development of naturalistic generalizations were components of the data analysis. Some instances occurred only once, yet were significant enough to warrant analysis. Meaning was derived from a few of these instances that can be

applied to naturalistic generalizations (Creswell, 1998). Reflective analysis (Gall, Borg, & Gall, 1996) uses personal intuition and judgment to find patterns and essential elements in the data. In this study, reflective analysis involved the researcher examining the data multiple times to find and identify threads of information that were significant (McGatha, 2008).

Stake (1995) writes of validation, "All researchers recognize the need not only for being accurate in measuring things but logical in interpreting the meaning of these measurements" (p. 108). Data were validated by methodological triangulation (Stake, 1995). After observations, both informal and formal interviews were conducted that utilized questioning that probed for multiple perspectives. For example, after the coach successfully gained entry to a classroom, participants were interviewed both together and individually to gain both perspectives on the observations. Triangulating the data was an important means of validation.

Findings

Ms. Paugh experienced positive results in gaining entry with several participants. The highest level of success occurred with two fifth-grade teachers, one sixth-grade teacher, and one-fifth grade special education teacher. They regularly requested her presence in their classrooms to co-teach or invited her to attend weekly planning meetings. This group was highly receptive to her pedagogical ideas and expressed genuine enthusiasm for working with her. Moderate success was experienced with two sixth-grade teachers and an eighth-grade teacher. Although she did not participate in their weekly planning sessions, they did allow her to attend several planning sessions during the year and requested that she co-teach with them at least once. In general, these teachers reached out to Ms. Paugh more than once and were fairly receptive to her overtures to engage them in new pedagogical ideas. Low levels of success were reported with two-seventh grade teachers and one seventh-grade special education teacher who invited her to few planning sessions, but engaged in no co-teaching. There was a noticeable lack of enthusiasm regarding new pedagogical ideas and classroom involvement. Research findings identify several factors that may have affected Ms. Paugh's success in gaining entry to teachers' classrooms and instructional practices, including the staff views of her insider status, staff relationships, her ability to change her identity, teacher resistance, and the importance of trust and confidentiality.

Insider-versus-outsider status. No matter their background, all people are sometimes suspicious and untrusting of others not from their region, town, or culture. People from rural Appalachia have traditionally struggled against cultural stereotypes that pigeonhole them as hillbillies, uneducated, and lacking in ambition (Cooper, Knotts, & Livingston, 2010; Edwards, Asbury, & Cox, 2006). These hurtful stereotypes create a deep-seeded mistrust of anyone not from the community and make open and effective communication a challenge. Outsiders are perceived as judgmental and are associated with forced change (Edwards et al., 2006; Seal & Harmon, 1995), which includes educational practices. Seal and Harmon (1995) write about rural Appalachian people's distrust of outsiders:

They are much quicker to blame outsiders for trying to bring urban America's problems to rural areas, such as landfills for urban waste or prisons for urban criminals. They also view with great suspicion outsiders who promise rural folks can be more or have more, if they embrace the opportunities of change. (p. 4)

This statement is reflective of the Mining Hills' teachers' attitude toward people not from the immediate area.

When Ms. Paugh arrived at Mining Hills as a first-year teacher, she too was considered an outsider. However, at the start of her year as math coach she felt that this was no longer the case.

I'm not an outsider now and haven't been for a long time. People can see how much I care about the school and that I'm not going anywhere. Some people come here on their way to somewhere else, but not me. I'm staying here, and I'm one of them. (Interview, May 18, 2011)

She voiced this opinion several times throughout the year, and several teachers with whom she worked concurred. That she chose to live in the district's regional boundary seemed to make a difference, as well as the fact that she wants to stay at Mining Hills regardless of other professional opportunities. Indeed research points to the pervasive idea that visitors only stop in Appalachia on their way to somewhere bigger and better (Cooper et al., 2006; Dessoff, 2010; Monk, 2007). There is a stereotype that an educator might stop in rural Appalachia for a few years to gain professional experience and to learn what it is like to live in the "sticks," but that it will not be a permanent career stop (Dessoff, 2010; DeYoung, 1995; Monk, 2007). This is especially true at Mining Hills, which frequently employs teachers who pass through from a nearby university but stay only while they finish a master's degree or until a position in the city or suburbs is available. Ms. Paugh established immediately that she was not one of these teachers.

It is likely that her insider status was a factor that contributed to her successes.

Staff relationships: The rural school family. The interpersonal workings of a rural school are different from urban or suburban schools (DeYoung, 1995; Gjelten, 1982). In Mining Hills, teachers see most of the staff daily, meet often outside of the school, know each other's extended families, and thus, are usually connected in more ways than their collegial relationships. Turnover is low, concern for extended families is high, and keeping a personal life to oneself is nearly impossible. It was not surprising therefore, that Ms. Paugh described her school as a family.

I can't imagine going anywhere else and having the staff like this. We're close. We get along. If something happens to someone, like when Mary's mom was really sick and she was in the hospital, everybody was concerned. And my opinion is that if you were at a much larger school, you're not going to have such an outreach, a concern. (Interview, October 28, 2010)

This feeling was echoed multiple times by nearly every teacher who was interviewed. In their (2009) case study of a rural high school, Chance and Segura's participants also identified strongly with the concept of school as family, an essential part of their identity as a rural school. Being a part of a rural school family had positive and negative effects, which Ms. Paugh had to negotiate throughout the year but especially at the beginning.

Initially, Ms. Paugh felt a lot of stress associated with living up to the expectations of the teachers. Having established herself as a leader and very knowledgeable about math, teachers expected much from her. Asked if she thought they resented her being placed as an authority on math, she replied, *"That's never felt like an issue to me. Even my first year of teaching, people were coming to ask me questions."* (Interview, October 28, 2010). A sixth-grade teacher, Ms. Paugh's first year mentor, confirmed this opinion. *"She never needed help with math. She was always really strong in that area."* (Interview, May 2, 2011). Although this was a compliment to Ms. Paugh, it added to her stress. She reported, *"It's nice that they have that much respect and confidence in me but at the same time it is really a lot of responsibility."* (Interview, October 28, 2010). The high expectations she and others held caused substantial stress, and observation notes document tears on a couple of occasions, including the interviews quoted above.

Although Ms. Paugh described her small school as a *"family,"* this may have contributed to her feeling overwhelmed and unsure of herself. She perceived others as having such high expectations, that facing the reality of coaching the whole staff, which she admired and respected, was daunting. The familial workings of the staff also contributed to Ms. Paugh's need to develop a new identity as a math coach, important in gaining entry to classrooms.

Developing a new identity. In a 2010 study of teachers beginning their first year of math coaching, researchers concluded that establishing this new identity is one of the first major challenges. Becoming a coach after being a successful classroom teacher causes a major shift in professional identity (Chval et al., 2010). Ms. Paugh was an extremely successful classroom teacher, but this did not necessarily translate to an immediate acceptance by the staff. Before Ms. Paugh became the math coach, she occupied an unusual position as both a teaching peer and an unofficial school leader in math. She served on the technology committee, presented on math topics at national education conferences, and developed a district backed interdisciplinary problem solving approach. She felt she was a leader in math education from the start saying, *"A lot of teachers are not certified specifically in math because they have elementary certificates. From the beginning, people were coming to me with questions."* (Interview, August 31, 2010). She was also the only teacher in her middle school certified to teach the eighth-grade advanced algebra class. Ms. Paugh came to the position of math coach with a history of being the go-to person when someone had a math question.

However, during this time, she remained a peer albeit one of the youngest members of the staff, with less teaching experience

than most, but with the same teaching responsibilities as her colleagues. She struggled with the same students every day, sought advice from veteran teachers about classroom management, and came early and stayed late to plan lessons and grade papers. In spite of her knowledge of math, she was still a classroom teacher with the same responsibilities and day-to-day concerns as the rest of the teachers. When she became the district's math coach, her duties changed, shifting from her status as a peer.

Assuming a new identity was an unseen task in gaining entry to teachers' classrooms. Despite the fact that she was generally well liked as evidenced by a half dozen or more statements that were collected throughout initial interviews and noted in observations of teachers' interactions with her, Ms. Paugh still needed to establish that a math coach was worth her salary. Teachers held a deep suspicion that administrators and other support staff do not have to work as hard as classroom teachers. During a May 2, 2011 interview, a sixth-grade teacher said, *"Imagine if you had someone who took it as a time to be lazy and said, 'I can go sit in my room and nobody will know.'"* The implication from this and other subtle comments is that Ms. Paugh had to prove that she was delivering a needed commodity to the school, a service that would improve the struggling math performance. They believed that she was a good classroom teacher and an asset to the district, but she had to prove her value as a math coach, thus gaining entry to classrooms was an essential and at times anxiety filled prospect. While Ms. Paugh was still figuring out exactly what being math coach was all about both personally and professionally, she also had to focus on the teachers' perception of her performance. As she initially attempted to gain entry to teachers' classrooms, she began the work of reshaping her school identity and proving the need for a math coaching position.

Mangin (2005) documented three ways to accomplish this task. The first is Explicit Self-Introduction, which involves a new coach making direct contact with a teacher in the classroom or a face-to-face meeting. The second, Covert Self-Introduction, demonstrates the coaches' abilities in the form of non-direct interactions like newsletters, staff projects, or any activities that go beyond math coaching duties to show school involvement. This tactic reminds the staff in as many ways as possible of the math coach's existence. Finally, coaches may use Third-party Introductions wherein a coach seeks an introduction to unfamiliar teachers through other teachers or students. Third-party Introductions were not needed or used in this case.

Ms. Paugh chose to use both Explicit Self-Introduction and Covert Self-Introduction (Mangin, 2005), informing teachers in staff meetings and e-mails that she was available to help with lesson plans, teaching strategies, quarterly and unit assessments, co-teaching/planning, indicator development for mapping a yearly curricular map, questions pertaining to math instruction, and classroom management. She also developed a monthly newsletter that gave teachers ideas for instruction. Relevant math articles frequently found their way into teachers' mailboxes for added incentive to seek her out. While all of these activities were helpful, it was the

personal requests to attend grade level meetings that seemed to be the most effective means for gaining entry.

It was important to Ms. Paugh that she not be viewed as a supervisor because she did not want the staff to think she was judging them or casting doubt on their teaching abilities, yet year-long observations document that she was not viewed as a mathematics peer either. She was the clear resident math expert at Mining Hills, both before and after she became a coach. While teachers did not always welcome her into their classrooms, they nevertheless agreed that she was the go-to person for math instruction. For example, the seventh-grade team did not invite her to co-plan or co-teach with them, but they did seek her out for questions about their short-cycle and quarterly assessments. In this way, the identity she created was unique, as it was neither evaluator nor a mathematics novice or peer.

Teacher resistance. In Mangin's 2005 study, gaining entry to a resistant teacher's classroom was as one of the math coaches' most frustrating experiences. Ms. Paugh obtained permission to attend the after school meeting of the seventh-grade team on September 22, 2010. Present at the meeting were two seventh-grade teachers, one a math teacher and one a special education teacher, the latter two older and with considerably more teaching experience than Ms. Paugh. The meeting started with friendly hellos and smiles. They pulled student desks into a circle and all had notepads for recording thoughts and ideas. Following a discussion about short cycle assessment questions, Ms. Paugh faced considerable resistance to meeting with her in the future. A conversation documents the level of resistance.

7th Grade

Math Teacher: *And I have a question. Are we meeting every Wednesday?*

Ms. Paugh: *Yes.*

7th Grade

Math Teacher: *Because when are we supposed to do co-planning of what we're doing?*

Ms. Paugh: *I, maybe, do you want to do it every other week?*

7th Grade

Math Teacher: *I mean, I don't care.*

Ms. Paugh: *I mean . . .*

7th Grade

Math Teacher: *That's just my concern. It was set aside for co-planning. I walked in the room and of course we knew we were doing this, so we couldn't plan together.*

7th Grade Special

Education Teacher: *Yeah.*

Ms. Paugh: *That's true. Um, so why don't we maybe meet . . .*

7th Grade

Math Teacher: *I mean is this something that we need to meet every week?*

Ms. Paugh: *More around when you have your short cycle where you had your item analysis and talks about data.*

7th Grade

Math Teacher: *I'll say more of and as needed.*

Ms. Paugh: *Yeah. We can kind of play with that.*

After the meeting, Ms. Paugh expressed her frustration. It was clear that the teachers did not want her further involvement in their classrooms. Though a seventh-grade teacher said, "*I don't care*" in reference to how often they met, they circled the issue until they had no set meetings. Ms. Paugh, who does not like confrontational situations, allowed this outcome. She said later that she felt she had no choice but to back off and proceed "*very slowly with them and just take baby steps, or they will never let me in again.*" Although the teachers were never blatantly rude, they made it known that they did not want much future involvement with her. While freely allowing Ms. Paugh to attend this meeting, the teachers made it clear that they did not want to do what co-planning would require. This meeting appeared to be a goodwill gesture because it would have been rude to dismiss her direct request to attend the meeting.

Certainly, it is reasonable to wonder if Ms. Paugh contributed to the seventh-grade teachers' resistance. However, during all the observations of interactions between teachers and coach, Ms. Paugh was seen trying her best to assist teachers in any way she could. She did stress the benefits of teaching from a conceptual focus, instead of stressing procedural steps and algorithms, and this idea was met with resistance from the seventh-grade teachers who had little value for this method. It is likely that it was not the way they learned to teach, making it a challenge to convince them to change, a factor noted by Cohen and Ball (1990). That she was one of the youngest teachers offering new ideas to veteran teachers was undoubtedly also a factor in their resistance, yet it was a variable over which she had no control. Gaining entry to seventh-grade classrooms was a challenge throughout the year. Though Ms. Paugh tried many approaches, she was never fully satisfied that she had successfully gained entry.

Two essential components: Trust and confidentiality. To develop a successful collaborative relationship, there must be a high level of trust and the certainty of confidentiality (Mangin, 2005; Mangin & Stoelinga, 2011), and these considerations were found to be even more important in a rural school. Ms. Paugh was fortunate to have a foundation for developing these two important factors. As in any family, there can be talk about other family members, and a similar situation occurred in Mining Hills. Ms. Paugh said, "*We all know gossip can fly through a staff like a wildfire, and it's even worse here.*" (Interview, October 28, 2010). She felt gossip was worse in a small school because it traveled quickly to students, families, and other community members.

Ms. Paugh felt that some trust had already been established when she started the year, *"The trust was already there. They could see I was devoted to the school. Everybody knows this is where I want to be."* (Interview, May 18, 2011). Sixth-grade teacher, Mary Bunta, agreed in a May 2, 2011 interview emphatically saying that Ms. Paugh would not, *"downgrade me or say anything bad personally. And I guess that's pretty implicit that I was expecting that."* Chance and Segura (2009) concluded in their rural high school case study that trust is an essential component in the creation of a collaborative partnership in a rural environment, "It is easier to build trust and collaboration among a few than among many" (p. 10). Though a rural school may offer some advantages to gaining trust, it does not guarantee the trust needed for collaborative relationships (Chance & Segura, 2009). Ms. Paugh felt that it was important for teachers to know that she would not reveal their weaknesses, frustrations, or even something as simple as having a bad day. Talking too much about the successes of other teachers was also frowned upon, and she was careful about sharing positives as well. *"Some people don't want you bragging about it. So what happens in the classroom stays in the classroom. What happens in the meeting stays in the meeting. You can encourage them to share what they are doing but you never do it yourself."* (Interview, October 28, 2010). Consequently, Ms. Paugh had to establish quickly that teachers could trust her and know that whatever they said or did in their classrooms would remain between them and not be shared with the rest of the staff or the community.

DISCUSSION

Several implications may be gleaned from the findings of this case study.

Insider Status Reduced the Time Needed to Gain Entry

People with "insider" status will be more likely to gain entry to classrooms in a rural school. If the academic coach already has "insider" status, time spent gaining entry is significantly shortened. That Ms. Paugh was not considered an outsider provided substantial help in gaining entry to teachers' classrooms. Mangin's 2005 study found that having an outsider status as a teacher leader could have positive and negative effects, either creating preconceived notions that inhibited relationships for insiders or not having the necessary trust and history with teachers for those considered the outsiders. Having shed her outsider status before ever becoming math coach, Ms. Paugh was able to capitalize on relationships that were secure. For coaches who are already a positively connected part of the staff before becoming a coach, the initial time that it takes them to gain entry may be significantly shortened.

Coach Identity and Staff Perceptions Are Important

A coach's identity within the school may have a significant impact on their ability to gain entry. In 1980, Joyce and Showers noted that coaches must assume a nonjudgmental persona when working with teachers. Several studies of math coaches report that when teachers believe that a math coach is in a supervisory position, it leads to an atmosphere of mistrust that creates resistance (Knight,

2006; Mangin, 2005; Mangin & Stoelinga, 2011). In order to avoid being viewed as an administrator, Ms. Paugh avoided being seen in a supervisory position. Mangin (2005) also documented the fact that teachers who try to place themselves in the role of peer, instead of supervisor, cast doubt on their own expertise in their area making it challenging to give difficult feedback to teachers about instruction. As a former classroom teacher in the building, Ms. Paugh carefully positioned herself as neither peer nor supervisor. Either role could have impeded her ability to gain entry to a teacher's instructional practices, the very thing she hoped to influence. Mining Hills' teachers' confidence also helped her to gain initial entry to their classrooms. They liked and respected her, so were unlikely to deny her requests to meet with them or to visit their classrooms while they were teaching. Although staff expectations could certainly be interpreted as a hindrance to her ability to adjust to her new position, that they already knew and respected her also likely helped her in achieving her goal of gaining admission to individual classrooms. This study confirms the existing research findings about the importance of a coach's perceived identity within a school (Knight, 2006; Mangin, 2005; Mangin & Stoelinga, 2011).

Trust and Confidentiality Are Critical

Academic coaches must prove to teachers repeatedly that they can be trusted and will maintain confidentiality. In order to develop a working collaborative relationship, a math coach must communicate concern for the teacher's needs. The coach must reserve judgment about the teacher's instructional practices or classroom management and instead focus on the academic needs of the students, thus making continued access more likely (McCombs & Marsh, 2009). Ms. Paugh, cognizant of the way news travels in a rural school, had to be doubly careful not to share secrets or even mundane everyday happenings to avoid jeopardizing her entry to classrooms. In a rural school such as Mining Hills, a shared secret is sure to create a tidal wave in a very small pool. Ms. Paugh knew that a key to gaining and maintaining entry to the teachers' classroom was to earn and keep teachers' trust and to respect their confidentiality at all times.

Gaining Entry in a Rural School Is Relatively Less Challenging

While resistant teachers are a problem for a rural school academic coach, the familial workings of a rural school staff make it difficult for teachers to initially resist entry to their classrooms. Social norms make it hard for teachers to say no to a coach in such an interconnected setting. As a well-liked and respected member of the staff, Ms. Paugh found it relatively easy to gain initial entry to classrooms. While no teachers were rude enough to tell her directly that she was not welcome in their classrooms, a few did offer the obligatory visit that seemed a duty to a person whom they already knew. With some teachers, after the initial welcome to their classrooms or planning meetings, Ms. Paugh was not offered a return invitation. Others were grateful to make her a

part of their weekly meetings and regularly confided in her or sought her advice about difficult situations. For Ms. Paugh, getting an initial invitation to visit a teacher's classroom or attend a planning meeting was not the most difficult part of gaining entry. What became most difficult was convincing teachers to allow her to be a regular partner in their teaching and planning. In four partnerships that resulted in high levels of entry, Ms. Paugh was invited to planning meetings on a weekly basis and to co-teach several times throughout the year. She experienced less success with six other partnerships, with three permitting only an initial planning meeting and no co-teaching. In a larger school with fewer connections and without the long-term relationships that are found in a rural school, academic coaches would likely experience challenges related to both a first meeting and subsequent meetings. This study finds that beyond the initial meeting, a rural school academic coach faces the same challenges in asking for a return visit as a coach in a suburban or urban setting.

LIMITATIONS AND FUTURE RESEARCH

Qualitative research can never be completely objective (Creswell, 1998). No matter how hard I tried to avoid them, some of my own biases and perceptions influenced this research. Although I frequently examined my actions and questions through a critical lens focused on researcher bias, I recognize that my own background and experiences likely influenced the research. It is possible growing up in a rural community may have influenced how I perceived Mining Hills or Ms. Paugh's and her colleagues' responses to situations and questions. However, my personal experience may also be what allowed me to gain entry and be accepted so readily.

This study focuses on Ms. Paugh and the teachers with whom she works. It is not meant to describe all teachers in rural schools or all math coaches. Research about the connections between academic coaching and rural schools are scarce, and there are no identified studies of academic coaches gaining entry into classrooms in rural schools. Additional case studies need to be conducted in places with similar demographics in order to derive valid conclusions or generalizations about academic coaches in rural schools.

References

- Arnold, M. L., Newman, J. H., Gaddy, B. B., & Dean, C. B. (2005). A look at the condition of rural education research: Setting a direction for future research. *Journal of Research in Rural Education*, 20(6), 1–25.
- Bandura, A. (1997). Self-efficacy. *Harvard Mental Health Letter*, 13(9), 4.
- Biancarosa, G., Bryk, A. S., & Dexter, E. R. (2010). Assessing the value-added effects of literacy collaborative professional development on student learning. *The Elementary School Journal*, 111(1), 7–34.
- Black, D., & Sanders, S. (2004). *Labor market performance, poverty, and income inequality in Appalachia*. Appalachian Regional Commission. Retrieved from http://www.arc.gov/research/researchreportdetails.asp?REPORT_ID=32.
- Bruce, C. D., & Ross, J. A. (2008). A model for increasing reform implementation and teacher efficacy: Teacher peer coaching in grades 3 and 6 mathematics. *Canadian Journal of Education*, 31(2), 346–370.
- Chance, P. L., & Segura, S. N. (2009). A rural high school's collaborative approach to school improvement. *Journal of Research in Rural Education (Online)*, 24(5), 1–12.
- Chval, K. B., Arbaugh, F., Lannin, J. K., van Garderen, D., Cummings, L., Estapa, A. T., & Huey, M. E. (2010). The transition from experienced teacher to mathematics coach: Establishing a new identity. *Elementary School Journal*, 111(1), 191–216.
- Cohen, D. K., & Ball, D. (1990). Relations between policy and practice: A commentary. *Educational Evaluation and Policy Analysis*, 12(3), 249–56.
- Cooper, C., Knotts, G., & Livingston, D. (2010). Appalachian identity and policy opinions. *Journal of Appalachian Studies*, 16(1/2), 26–41.
- Creswell, J. (1998). *Qualitative inquiry and research design: Choosing among five traditions*. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.
- Darling-Hammond, L., & Richardson, N. (2009). Teacher learning: What matters? *Educational Leadership*, 66(5), 46–53.
- Dessoiff, A. (2010). Persuading teachers to go rural. *District Administration*, 46(6), 58–60.
- DeYoung, A. J. (1987). The status of American rural education research: An integrated review and commentary. *Review of Educational Research*, 57(2), 123–148.
- DeYoung, A. J. (1995). Constructing and staffing the cultural bridge: The school as change agent in rural Appalachia. *Anthropology & Education Quarterly*, 26(2), 168–192.
- DeYoung, A. J., & American Institutes for Research in the Behavioral Sciences. (1993). *Children at risk in America's rural schools: Economic and cultural dimensions*. Palo Alto, CA: American Institutes for Research in the Behavioral Sciences.
- Driscoll, M. J. (2008). Embracing coaching as professional development. *Principal Leadership*, 9(2), 40–44.
- Edwards, G., Asbury, J., & Cox, R. (2006). *A handbook to Appalachia: An introduction to the region*. Knoxville, TN: The University of Tennessee Press.
- Gall, M., Borg, W., & Gall, J. (1996). *Educational research: An introduction*. White Plains, NY: Longman.
- Gjelten, T. (1982). *A typology of rural school settings*. Washington, DC: U.S. Department of Education.
- Haas, T. (1991). Why reform doesn't apply: Creating a new story about education in rural America. In A. J. DeYoung (Ed.), *Rural education: Issues and practice* (pp. 413–446). New York, NY: Garland.
- Hansen, P. (2009). *Mathematics coaching handbook: Working with teachers to improve instruction*. Larchmont, NY: Eye on Education.
- Herzog, M. J., & Pittman, R. (1999). The nature of rural schools: Trends, perceptions, and values. In D. M. Chalker (Ed.), *Leadership for rural schools: Lessons for all educators* (pp. 11–24). Lancaster, PA: Technomic.
- Hilty, E. B. (1999). Southern schools, southern teachers: Redefining leadership in rural communities. In D. M. Chalker (Ed.), *Leadership for rural schools: Lessons for all educators* (pp. 157–172). Lancaster, PA: Technomic.
- Howley, A., & Howley, C. B. (2004). *Small by default and the pressures to consolidate*. Paper presented at the annual conference of the International Society of Educational Planning Washington, DC.
- Howley, A., & Howley, C. B. (2005). High-quality teaching: Providing for rural teachers' professional development. *Rural Educator*, 26(2), 1–5.
- Hull, T., Balka, D., & Miles, R. (2009). *A guide to mathematics coaching*. Thousand Oaks, CA: Corwin.
- Joyce, B., & Showers, B. (1980). Improving inservice training: The message of research. *Educational Leadership*, 37(5), 379.

- Joyce, B. R., & Showers, B. (1981). Transfer of training: The contribution of "coaching." *Journal of Education*, 163(2), 163–172.
- Joyce, B., & Showers, B. (1982). The coaching of teaching. *Educational Leadership*, 40(1), 4.
- Kannapel, P. J., & DeYoung, A. J. (1999). The rural school problem in 1999: A review and critique of the literature. *Journal of Research In Rural Education*, 15(2), 67–79.
- Knight, J. (2005). A primer on instructional coaches. *Principal Leadership*, 5(9), 16–21.
- Knight, J. (2006). Instructional coaching. *School Administrator*, 63(4), 36.
- L'Allier, S., Elish-Piper, L., & Bean, R. M. (2010). What matters for elementary literacy coaching? Guiding principles for instructional improvement and student achievement. *The Reading Teacher*, 63(7), 544–554.
- Mangin, M. M. (2005). Distributed leadership and the culture of schools: Teacher leaders' strategies for gaining access to classrooms. *Journal of School Leadership*, 15(4), 456–484.
- Mangin, M., & Stoelinga, S. (2011). Peer? Expert? Teacher leaders struggle to gain trust while establishing their expertise. *Journal of Staff Development*, 32(3), 48–51.
- Marsh, J., McCombs, J., Lockwood, J., Martorell, F., Gershwin, D., Naf-tel, S., Le, V., Shea, M., Barney, H., & Creco, A. (2008). *Supporting literacy across the sunshine state: A study of Florida middle school reading coaches*. Santa Monica, CA: RAND.
- Mather, M. (2004). *Housing and commuting patterns in Appalachia*. Appalachian Regional Commission. Retrieved from http://www.arc.gov/assets/research_reports/HousingandCommutingPatternsInAppalachia.pdf.
- McCombs, J., & Marsh, J. (2009). Lessons for boosting the effectiveness of reading coaches. *Phi Delta Kappan*, 90(7), 501–507.
- McGatha, M. (2008). Levels of engagement in establishing coaching relationships. *Teacher Development*, 12(2), 139–150.
- Monk, D. H. (2007). Recruiting and retaining high-quality teachers in rural areas. *Future of Children*, 17(1), 155–174.
- Moxley, D., & Taylor, R. (2006). *Literacy coaching: A handbook for school leaders*. Thousand Oaks, CA: Corwin.
- Neufeld, B., & Roper, D. (2003). *Coaching: A strategy for developing institutional capacity—Promises and practicalities*. Washington, DC: Aspen Institute Program on Education; Providence, RI: Annenberg Institute for School Reform. Retrieved from <http://annenberginstitute.org/pdf/Coaching.pdf>.
- Obara, S. (2010). Mathematics coaching: A new kind of professional development. *Teacher Development*, 14(2), 241–251.
- Pendarvis, E., & Wood, E. (2009). Eligibility of historically underrepresented students referred for gifted education in a rural school district: A case study. *Journal for the Education of the Gifted*, 32(4), 495–514.
- Rush, L. S., & Young, S. (2011). Wyoming's Instructional Facilitator Program: Teachers' beliefs about the impact of coaching on practice. *Rural Educator*, 32(2), 13–22.
- Seal, K. R., & Harmon, H. L. (1995). Realities of rural school reform. *Phi Delta Kappan*, 77(2), 119.
- Showers, B. (1984). *Peer coaching: A strategy for facilitating transfer of training*. Eugene, OR: Center for Educational Policy and Management.
- Showers, B., & Joyce, B. R. (1996). The evolution of peer coaching. *Educational Leadership*, 53(6), 12–16.
- Stake, R. E. (1995). *The art of case study research*. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.
- Stapel, C. J., & DeYoung, A. J. (2011). Toward a transdisciplinary rural education research agenda. *Rural Educator*, 32(3), 27–35.
- U.S. Census Bureau. (2010). *Urban and rural classification*. Retrieved from <http://www.census.gov/geo/www/ua/urbanruralclass.html>.
- U.S. Department of Education. (2001). *No Child Left Behind Act of 2001 Executive Summary*. Washington, DC: Office of Elementary and Secondary Education. Retrieved from <http://www2.ed.gov/nclb/overview/intro/execsumm.html>.
- Waters, M., Howley, C., & Schultz, J. (2008). An initial research agenda for rural mathematics education. *Journal of Appalachian Studies*, (1/2), 125–144.
- Yoon, K., Duncan, T., Lee, S., Scarloss, B., & Shapley, K. L. (2007). *Reviewing the evidence on how teacher professional development affects student achievement*. Issues & Answers Report. REL 2007-No. 033. Regional Educational Laboratory Southwest.

Sara Hartman is an adjunct instructor in the Department of Teacher Education at Ohio University. Dr. Hartman can be reached at hartmans@ohio.edu.

Essay Book Reviews

ACADEMIC/PROFESSIONAL TEXT

REVIEW BY MARY ELIZABETH MATTHEWS, *Journal of Education*

Latinos/as and Mathematics Education, a volume edited by Kip Téllez, Judit Moschkovich, and Marta Civil, includes three chapters with an early career scholar serving as the lead author. Consistent with the theme of this issue of the *Journal of Education*, these chapters are the primary focus of this review.

Latinos/as and Mathematics Education

EDITED BY KIP TÉLLEZ, JUDIT MOSCHKOVICH, AND MARTA CIVIL.
2011.

Charlotte, NC: IAP—Information Age Publishing. 348 pages.
ISBN 978-1-61735-420-5. \$45.99.

While Latinos/as, particularly children of school age, are a rapidly growing population in the United States, Kip Téllez, Judit Moschkovich, and Marta Civil believe that media focus on this statistic has caused, perhaps unintentionally, fear among non-Latino populations about threats to culture. The editors of this book disagree with this response, proposing instead that regardless of the size of the population, the mathematics educational needs of Latinos/as are worthy of study by researchers and notice by policymakers because of student underperformance. *Latinos/as and Mathematics Education* presents 13 research studies that focused on language and culture as tools to enhance students' mathematical learning rather than as weaknesses to be overcome. As noted by the socio-cultural researcher Luis C. Moll in the Foreword, the text is a welcome departure from the deficit perspective commonly present in the literature.

The book includes four sections into which the studies are grouped: (1) mathematics learning in the classroom, (2) learners as part of communities, (3) teacher professional development, and (4) assessment of Latino/a students. In order to narrow the scope of this review and as noted, reflect the theme of this issue of the *Journal of Education*, the reviewer will focus on the three chapters with an early career-scholar as the lead author: "Bilingual Students Using Two Languages During Peer Mathematics Discussions: ¿Qué Significa? Estudiantes Bilingües Usando Dos Idiomas en sus Discusiones Matemáticas: What Does it Mean?" by William Zahner and Judit Moschkovich, "Conversations Around Mathematics Education with Latino Parents in Two Borderland Communities: The Influence of Two Contrasting Language Policies" by Jesus M. Acosta-Irrique, Marta Civil, Javier Diez-Palomar, Mary E. Marshall, and Beatriz Quintos-Alonso, and "A Case Study of Multigenerational Mathematics Participation in an After-School Setting: Capitalizing on Latinas/os Funds of Knowledge" by Hector Morales, Jr., Eugenia Vomvoridi-Ivanović, and Lena Licón Khisty.

Zahner and Moschkovich begin their chapter by introducing the subjects, a group of six bilingual sixth graders in a mathematics classroom at a dual-immersion bilingual school. Through a short transcript, the authors present the research question—if these students all speak both Spanish and English and are permitted to use either in their classroom, why do they mix the two languages in discussions?

Their previous analyses of a video of this student group led to two findings: (1) the students almost exclusively discussed calculations rather than concepts, and (2) a mathematical authority governed student discussion, an authority that was neither the one thought to be the best student nor the one who had the correct answer. Guided by these two findings, passages from the transcripts, theories, and previous research, Zahner and Moschkovich tested five hypotheses to explain why these sixth graders code-switched between Spanish and English.

The first hypothesis stated that students were using their first language to compensate for words they did not remember in English, while a second hypothesis proposed that students required their primary language for computations. The third hypothesis suggested that the ability to switch languages enabled students to change the way they were thinking about a problem when they encountered cognitive challenges. The fourth hypothesis stated that students use code-switching as a resource to manage face during conversations and to facilitate turn taking. Finally, they considered whether the non-dominant language was used to negotiate social position from group to group via power structures.

From their analysis, Zahner and Moschkovich concluded that the data confirmed Moschkovich's findings from a previous study: children use code-switching to repeat or elaborate a point in mathematical discussions. The first three hypotheses were rejected, even though these statements are often presented as fact in the literature and thus, may have been supported by other researchers or theorists cited in this chapter. They also reported a limitation: that they did not have sufficient data to determine the validity of the fifth hypothesis because no data were collected on the social structures in which the students resided outside of the classroom. However, their work did support the fourth hypothesis, that students used code-switching as a way of managing face in conversation.

The authors concluded that students' multilingual abilities helped them manage social interactions in mathematical conversations, a finding that may lead to more research on how students use these abilities to improve learning. If code-switching is beneficial, enabling students to access the language that serves them best

in the moment would seem useful for developing mathematical understanding.

The research reported by Acosta-Irqui et al. examined parent involvement with student mathematics learning as mediated by schooling and the policies that shape it. The researchers conducted interviews with Spanish language-dominant parents through two Center for the Mathematics Education of Latinos/as (CEMLA) sites in two different states where the policy on bilingual education differed substantially. The first state, Arizona, adopted a law, in 2000, which greatly restricted bilingual education and instead favored structured English immersion (SEI) where teachers taught in English only. The law also required that new immigrants be placed in an SEI setting for less than a single year before being placed in a regular classroom. In the comparison state, New Mexico, bilingual education was highly supported, and there was state legislation to support parental connections to bilingual schools. The researchers sought to determine the differences between parents' perceptions of and interactions with schools and student mathematics learning under these two different sets of language policies.

The parents interviewed for this study all came to various programs associated with the CEMLA sites in order to help their children learn mathematics better. Thus, all parents involved in the study were highly interested in their children's academic growth and were able to invest their time in this effort, a best-case scenario for studying how state policies and related programs can affect parental involvement with student learning. However, the parents had differing perceptions on their ability to assist their children with mathematics.

Half of the parents interviewed in Arizona cited English-Only classes as a barrier to their participation in their child's learning. While many of them attempted to learn English, they still found it difficult to understand homework problems, were unable to understand the mathematics questions, and had difficulty reading the textbook. Often they relied on older siblings to help their children, regardless of their mathematical ability. Five of the fourteen mothers interviewed expressed concern about the emotional effects English-Only education had on their children. One mother reported that because her children came home crying every day, she went out of her way to find a bilingual program within the state they could attend. Two different parents had at least one child drop out of school due to language problems. In contrast, the English language was not seen as a barrier by the parents in New Mexico. They felt comfortable interacting with teachers and participating in classrooms due to the bilingual environment. When asked how they would feel if their children were required to attend an English-Only school, these parents said they would be very concerned.

There is a popular call for greater parental involvement in schools, and as Latino/a and particularly Mexican and Mexican-American students are growing as a population. Acosta-Irqui et al.'s study suggests that bilingual education is a positive way to increase parental access for a high-need population. Parents tended to favor bilingual education, and because many of them had difficulty finding the time or resources to learn English, they found

it easier to be involved in a bilingual setting. Overall, parents of children who attended a bilingual school had better access to resources to be involved in their children's education, and children were at lower risk of dropping out or leaving school because of problems with language and communication. Further, this chapter supports other research that finds that many Latino/a parents want to be involved in their children's education, and from their perspective, students' linguistic access affects their ability to continue their education.

Morales, Vomvorić-Ivanović, and Khisty focus on themes that are similar to those in the other two chapters reviewed here. These researchers analyzed one student's experience in an after-school program where parents were invited to participate. The program used games to develop students' reasoning and logic regarding topics in probability and arithmetic. Students worked in groups with peers, an undergraduate or graduate student who facilitated the games, and toward the end of the program, with parents.

The chapter reports a case study of Rodrigo, a third-grade student who is learning a game, sharing his knowledge of the game with new people from different generations, and developing his own mathematical game. Initially, Rodrigo worked with a peer and a graduate student facilitator during the week when a game was introduced. At that time, Rodrigo spoke mostly English even though the program focused on facilitating development of students' mathematical abilities in Spanish. A few weeks later, he played the same game with an undergraduate student facilitator, peers, and parents (including his mother). In this setting, he spoke exclusively in Spanish, and also took a lead in the conversation although he had been more timid and quiet during the introduction week. Finally, when he created his own game at home with the help of his mother, he incorporated a game she had mentioned during group play. He also created instructions almost exclusively in Spanish. In this setting where multiple Spanish-speaking adults worked with Rodrigo while playing a mathematical game, he developed complicated ideas about probability and was able to work with them in his first language.

The authors point out that this research fills a gap in the conversation about English language learners. Often the discussion focuses on overcoming barriers created by not understanding English and finding ways to improve the understanding of mathematics in English, while there is a lack of research on how to develop students' advanced mathematical understandings in their native language. The work of Zahner and Moschkovich validates the use of different languages in different contexts. The study conducted by Acosta-Irqui et al. suggests the importance of parental involvement in mathematical learning and the effects of policies that may encourage or limit their participation. Finally, the case study reported by Morales et al. adds a personalized story that enables readers to appreciate the students' mathematical capacities as well as the importance of developing mathematical skills within their native language and in concert with multigenerational speakers.

A theme emphasized throughout the book is that each of these studies focuses on specific groups of students at a specific time and

that the findings cannot be generalized to all Latino/a students across settings and time. Téllez, Moschkovich, and Civil are careful to note that many of these studies focus on students of Mexican heritage from specific regions, and that social climates change frequently. Thus, while these studies may inform decisions, they can offer only limited insights into the language use of bilingual and multilingual students in the mathematics classroom.

The research may be limited in its application, but the studies reported in *Latinos/as and Mathematics Education* offer new and innovative ways to think about language learners in the mathematics classroom, including using students' native language and culture as contributors to success. The related topics of the research conducted within a variety of methodologies yield information for educators, policy-makers, and teachers alike. From

insights into native-language learning, to valuing and enabling parental contributions to mathematics learning, to the professional development of bilingual teachers, this text offers a shift in perspective for those interested in enhancing the mathematical learning of Latinos/as and offers hope for the possibilities of drawing on students' first language and culture as resources in the classroom and the community.

By focusing in depth on one group of students as they learn one discipline, *Latinos/as and Mathematics Education* makes an important contribution to our understanding of a critical goal in contemporary education: the fundamental need for equality of opportunity for all learners. The insights that have been gleaned by these mathematics educators offer promise to scholars in other specializations.

Early Books of Award-Winning Authors

REVIEW BY MICHELLE CARNEY AND STOREY MECOLI,
Journal of Education

Freight Train, *The Snowy Day*, *Charlotte's Web*, *Let the Circle Be Unbroken*, *Number the Stars*. For those versed in children's literature, these titles are familiar, well-regarded classics that teachers and parents feel confident in introducing to young readers. But where did the beloved authors and illustrators of these texts begin? What came before these now classic works? In an issue of the *Journal of Education* that features the work of early career scholars, this is a fitting question to ask. In this review, we focus on selected classic children's authors' first works, promising predictors of those to come. We are well aware that the world has changed dramatically since the publication of these books and those that we will review, but it is fair to say that the books are true to Ezra Pound's view that a book is "a classic because of a certain eternal and irrepressible freshness" (1960, p. 26).

Evident in these early works is the authors' careful attention to the craft of writing that became the hallmark of their books. Rickards and Hawes (2006) have suggested that there is value in helping the young reader to explore the work of the writer through the study of authors' craft. All the books reviewed here provide a range of powerful exemplars for teachers and parents to use in pointing out how authors and illustrators carefully craft their words and images. Helping young writers to understand how choice of words, realistic dialogue, and engaging illustrations contribute to the richness of the reader's response can introduce a lifelong quest for young authors who are working on developing their own craft. In studying classic authors' first works, it is also enlightening to young readers and writers to discover the ways in which renowned writers and artists have developed their craft over time.

We Read: A to Z

BY DONALD CREWS

27 pages. Greenwillow Books, 1967.
(Ages 3 to 8)

Author's Awards: Caldecott Honors Award, 1979, 1980

Beloved children's author Donald Crews is perhaps best known for his picture books about modern transportation, *Freight Train* and *Truck*. Also well recognized are the books about his childhood and summers spent in Florida, such as *Shortcut* and *Bigmama's*. His first book, however, focused on a much more basic topic, the letters of the alphabet, that serve as building blocks for young readers. As

Crews notes on the very first page: "From the alphabet, with just twenty-six letters, A to Z, all words are made" (p. i).

As any reader of children's books is well aware, the alphabet is a common choice for authors and illustrators. However, it is not the subject matter that makes Crews' first effort stand out and gives the reader a glimpse of the celebrated author yet to come. Instead, it is the unique way Crews approached the subject. While readers are often treated to letters of the alphabet being served up alongside illustrations of objects that begin with that letter—A is for apples, for example—Crews took a decidedly different tact.

The author used locations and descriptors to accompany the alphabet letters. Crews, a talented artist, paired these descriptors with bright, engaging graphic designs that catch the reader's eye. For instance, Crews wrote: "Cc, corner: where the yellow is" (p. 3). Adjacent to this page is a fiery red page, a small, sunshine-yellow square in the bottom right corner. The result of this different approach to illustrating the alphabet is not just a book that is unique in its design, but also, one that is refreshing and visually arresting.

The book progresses with Crews using a limited palette of colors—black, white, red, green, blue, orange, and yellow. "Jj, jagged: sharp points" (p. 10). A stark white background is overtaken by a jagged black design, filling all but the edges of the page with its "sharp points." "Ss, size: one large, one small" (p. 19). Again, the white background, this time with a large red square filling the largest part of the page, excepting the small black square couched in the bottom right corner. By limiting his palette to these few vibrant colors, the graphic designs are all the more appealing.

Predictive of the author's future contributions to children's literature is the fact that this book lends itself to the reader who has progressed well beyond early literacy. By incorporating directions and properties with the alphabetic letters, Crews also provides a text that is useful for early spatial reasoning. "Vv, vertical: up and down" (p. 22), Crews writes, and the reader observes bright blue and green stripes lined neatly (and vertically) across the page. "Pp, parts: pieces separated" (p. 16) is accompanied by a large black square separated into smaller black squares by thin white lines. This is later contrasted with "Ww, whole: in one piece" (p. 23), where this same black square is restored to its entirety. "Qq, quarters: four equal parts" (p. 17), and "Rr, right: the half where the blue is" (p. 18) are other examples of how young readers are learning more than just the alphabet when they read this book.

As the reader pages through the book, a sense of the pleasure Crews experienced as the writer/illustrator is evident. There's a playfulness that comes through the text and illustrations—page 14 teases us with "Nn, nothing:," and all we get is a blank white

page—that both delights and intrigues the reader. Those who enjoy the illustrations and text of Crews later books should become acquainted with his earliest work.

My Dog Is Lost!

BY EZRA JACK KEATS AND PAT CHERR

32 pages, Viking, Penguin Putnam Books for Young Readers, 1966.
(Ages 4–8)

Authors' Awards: Caldecott Medal, 1963, 1970; Children Choices Award, International Reading Association and Children's Book Council, 1977; University of Southern Mississippi, Silver Medalion for Outstanding Service in the Field of Children's Literature, 1980; Keats Archives established by the de Grummond Collection of Children's Literature, at the University of Southern Mississippi in Hattiesburg, 1985; UNICEF Ezra Jack Keats International Award for Excellence in Children's Book Illustration established, 1985–1994; Ezra Jack Keats New Writers Award established by the New York Public Library, 1986; Ezra Jack Keats Bookmaking Competition established by the New York City Department of Education in collaboration with the Foundation, 1986; American Library Association, Posthumous Honoree for Outstanding Advocacy for Libraries in the 20th Century, 2000; Ezra Jack Keats New Illustrator Award established by the New York Public Library, 2001; Society of Illustrators, Posthumous Lifetime Achievement Award, 2006

Ezra Jack Keats was born in 1916 in East New York, the third child of a Polish Jewish family. As did other immigrants, he knew poverty and hardship during the Great Depression. The biographical information provided on his foundation's website, (www.ezra-jack-keats.org) describes an artistically gifted young man torn between helping his family deal with economic hardships and pursuing his love of painting. Keats, born Jacob "Jack" Katz, also endured anti-Semitism, an experience that later influenced his choice of characters.

Perhaps best known for *The Snowy Day*, *A Letter to Amy*, and *Peter's Chair*, Keats was one of the first children's authors to portray, with integrity, Black children in urban settings. His characters were neither token representatives nor caricatures, but fully realized and authentic members of a diverse community. This sensitive portrayal of those who were often marginalized is evident in his first book, *My Dog Is Lost*, co-authored with Pat Cherr.

The book's main character is Juanito, a young boy whose family has recently moved to New York City from Puerto Rico. Adding to his troubles of being a stranger in a strange land, Pepito, his canine best friend, is missing. Although Juanito knows no English (and as Juanito notes, neither does Pepito), he gathers his courage and ventures into the city to find his lost dog. In a double page of detailed charcoal sketches, Keats brings us with Juanito through the grocery store, the playground, the Laundromat, and the subway. The reader feels the hot tears ready to spill from Juanito's eyes as he searches without success. Juanito's fortunes begin to change when he spies a sign in the window of the bank, "Aqui se habla español." He enters

the bank and says to the teller, "Mi perro se ha perdido," and the kind man writes the English translation, "my dog is lost."

Holding fast to both the paper and his love for his dog, Juanito continues his search through the diverse neighborhoods of New York City: Chinatown, Little Italy, and Harlem. In each neighborhood, children come to Juanito's aid, providing him with the English words to describe his pet; *rojo*, *peludo*, *zambo*, *grande*, and joining his search calling, "Pepito, Pepito!" Just as hope is lost, and the children must leave Juanito to start for home, a police officer arrives. Juanito shows the officer his now crumpled paper, and . . . *jau-jau!* Pepito barks from atop the officer's horse. He is found!

Keats's bilingual story skillfully contextualizes Spanish words and phrases, situating them as language in use and increasing the likelihood that the reader will learn and remember. The illustrations also provide visual cues to the words' meanings. For example, Juanito points to a woman wearing a thick, shaggy coat as he describes his dog as *peludo*. As Juanito travels from neighborhood to neighborhood, he collects not just friends but also words. In this way Keats repositions the role of language from the beginning of the story, when it separated Juanito from his new home, to becoming a way to connect to new people and places.

The Ezra Jack Keats Foundation maintains an informative website (www.ezra-jack-keats.org) where parents and educators will find resources such as lesson ideas, audio recordings of selected books, script adaptations, and biographical information. Also of note are the Ezra Jack Keats Foundation mini-grants, which offer monetary support for creative projects that promote multicultural and intergenerational connections. Readers who live in the vicinity of Cambridge, Massachusetts, may visit the Gutman Library in the Harvard University Graduate School of Education, where there is a collection of selected papers and illustrations created by Keats, the first children's author-illustrator to be so honored.

While Keats' later work will show the increasing influence of his training in fine art and his maturation as a children's writer, in the pages and illustrations of *My Dog Is Lost* the reader senses a writer searching for his voice. Young readers, their teachers, and parents can be grateful that through the pages of his books, Ezra Jack Keats' voice continues to be heard almost half-century later.

Stuart Little

BY E. B. WHITE, ILLUSTRATED BY GARTH WILLIAMS

131 pages. HarperCollins Publishers, 1945.
(Grades 3–5)

Author's Awards: The Gold Medal for Essays and Criticism from the National Institute of Arts and Letters, 1960; Presidential Medal of Freedom, 1963; Laura Ingalls Wilder Medal, 1970; National Medal for Literature, 1971; Elected to the American Academy of Arts and Letters, 1973

The name, E. B. White, is synonymous with classic children's literature. He is perhaps best known for *Charlotte's Web*, his timeless story of friendship, salvation, and nature's cycle of birth and death. In classrooms across time and geography, teachers and students

have accepted White's invitation to enter a barn where they meet Wilbur and Charlotte and come to share in the joys of friendship, the grief of loss, and the pleasures of life's progress. In *Stuart Little*, his first book for children, we find the beginning threads of these universal themes of the human condition, albeit most often told through an imagined world of animals, a place that White will masterfully portray throughout his writing career.

Elwyn Brooks White was born in Mount Vernon, New York, in 1899. After his piece on the Bronx River was published in *The New Yorker*, he was invited to become a contributing editor in 1927 and established a reputation for the insightful commentaries that were featured weekly in the "Notes and Comment" column (<http://www.notablebiographies.com>). In 1959, White was invited to revise *The Elements of Style*, the seminal handbook for writers that was the original work of his former professor, William Strunk. In all three of White's books for children, *Stuart Little*, *The Trumpet of the Swan*, and *Charlotte's Web*, the reader can appreciate White's adherence to his own advice in the clear, precise, and direct language he uses to tell each of these stories. Garth William's illustrations in shades of black and gray provide an engaging counterpoint to White's text and are a tribute to a partnership that continued for all of White's books.

E. B. White tells his own story of the beginning of *Stuart Little* and the beginning of his career as a writer of children's books. "Many years ago, I went to bed one night in a railway sleeping car, and during the night I dreamed about a tiny boy who acted rather like a mouse. That's how the story of Stuart Little got started." (<http://www.scholastic.com/teachers/contributor/e-b-white>).

As the book begins, the namesake character arrives into the Little family of New York City. It is immediately apparent that Stuart Little is a remarkable baby because he has many of the characteristics of a mouse including his small size and a "mouse's sharp nose, a mouse's tail, a mouse's whiskers, and the pleasant, shy manner of a mouse" (pp. 1–2). After the doctor reassures the Littles that their mouse-child is healthy and robust, the baby is given the same love and care as older brother George. The pace of the story allows no opportunity for the reader to feel sorry for the diminutive Stuart but instead sees him as a "great help to his parents, and to his older brother George, because of his small size and because he could do things that a mouse can do and was agreeable about doing them" (p. 4). In a subtle yet powerful message of acceptance and the capacity of the imagination to suspend disbelief, particularly at this time, White writes, "At birth, Stuart could have been sent by first class mail for three cents, but his parents preferred to keep him rather than send him away . . ." (pp. 2–3).

Indeed, there is a matter-of-fact manner in which White presents the arrival of a mouse-child to this family. Only in private do Mr. and Mrs. Little discuss the challenges of having a mouse-child in the family. They worry about Stuart hearing disparaging references to mice lest they give him nightmares and a poor self-concept. They worry about a mouse hole in the corner of the pantry and whether Stuart might be drawn to its dark reaches; after all, remarked Mr. Little ". . . he does look like a good deal like a

mouse. And I've never seen a mouse yet that didn't like to go into a hole" (p. 11). They do not seem to worry, however, that the family cat Snowball, is less than enamored with Stuart for obvious cat and mouse reasons.

The first half of White's story tells of Stuart's adventures in the larger world. He takes the trolley to travel confidently in New York City, fashioning mouse-sized dimes to pay his fare; expertly captains a model sailing schooner in a Central Park pond; and with the help of his friend Margola, the beautiful hen-bird, he even survives a near miss on the city garbage barge. Unlike the movie adaptation, these adventures are told without slapstick humor, but with an eye to Stuart's competence and determination. The reader is not surprised when, in the second half of the book, Stuart borrows a model motor car and takes to the open road to find Margola after she disappears from her usual perch in the Little's Boston fern, just as spring arrives.

Among his on-the-road adventures, readers will enjoy Stuart's day as a substitute teacher, as he puts aside the typical day's lesson plans and engages the students in a discussion of what it might mean to be Chairman of the World. Not only are young readers invited to imagine a mouse-child, but perhaps in the ultimate triumph, to read about this creature assuming the role of a teacher. In a wonderful example of White's subtlety in allowing a small creature to aspire to a large goal, he writes the following exchange between Stuart and the students,

"Well, alright then, let's talk about the Chairman of the World. The world gets into a lot of trouble because it has no Chairman. I would like to be Chairman of the World myself."

"You're too small," said Mary Bendix.

"Oh, fish feathers!" said Stuart. "Size has nothing to do with it. It's temperament and ability that count. The Chairman has to have ability and he must know what is important. How many of you know what is important?" (p. 92)

The answers that follow are evidence of White's appreciation for the beauty in the commonplace, a celebration that will continue in his later books, *The Trumpet of the Swan* and *Charlotte's Web*. "A shaft of sunlight at the end of a dark afternoon, a note in music, and the way the back of a baby's neck smells if its mother keeps it tidy" (p. 92).

In a nod to the more serious themes children might be allowed to consider, Stuart-as-teacher guides them in determining what world-wide laws might be necessary and fair to all constituents by directing a skit featuring the bold theft of a student's treasured item and the positive outcome of the event.

The book's final chapter describes Stuart's continuing and ultimately successful journey to find Margola (p. 131). As if to foretell the road ahead in E. B. White's future as a children's author, Stuart "peered ahead into the great land that stretched before him, the way seemed long. But the sky was bright, and he somehow felt he was heading in the right direction" (p. 131). And with that, Stuart climbed back into his roadster and "started up the road that headed north" (p. 131) to continue what White described as his

“quest” for what is “perfect and unattainable” (Neumeyer, 1994, p. xxv). Through the craft of anthropomorphism, this gifted author portrays animals and their human friends in stories that make it possible for young readers to experience vicariously, some of life’s more challenging journeys. In White’s books, we find guidance for our most human quests.

Song of the Trees

BY MILDRED D. TAYLOR, ILLUSTRATED BY JERRY PINKNEY

48 pages. The Dial Press, 1975.

(Grades 3–5)

Author’s Awards: Newbery Medal Award Winner, 1977; Coretta Scott King Award, 1982, 1988, 1990, 2002; Jane Addams Honor Citation, 1976, 1977, 1982, 1996; First Prize Council on Interracial Books for Children, 1973; Outstanding Book of the Year Citation, New York Times, 1975, 1981, 1987; Christopher Book Award, 1988, 1990; ALA Notable Book Citation, 1976, 2002; Boston Globe-Horn Book Award for fiction, 1988

For many decades Mildred D. Taylor’s books have been held in great esteem by scholars, teachers, parents, and other readers. *Roll of Thunder, Hear My Cry*, perhaps the most well known, is a book students recall and can reflect upon long after they have closed its cover. This celebrated author has produced nine books over the course of her career, many of them centered on the Logan family and told through the reflective voice of young Cassie Logan. *Song of the Trees* was where both Taylor’s career and Cassie’s story began. Although this was Taylor’s first published work, it was a forecast of the brilliance to come, garnering several awards, including Winner of the 1973 Council on Interracial Books Award: First Prize African American.

Much of Taylor’s work has focused on African American families living through the Great Depression, and the author has acknowledged that much of the content is autobiographical, often drawing from the experiences of her own family. In the opening note to the reader, Taylor writes:

This book is based on a true story, one that actually happened in my family. As a small child, I often listened to my father recount his adventures growing up in rural Mississippi during the Depression. His vivid description of the giant trees, the coming of the lumbermen, and the events that followed made me feel that I too was present. I hope my readers will be as moved by the story as I was. (p. 3)

Like many gifted authors, Taylor draws upon what she knows, and what results is a story that is compelling, unsettling, and moving. Taylor’s purpose here is to challenge the reader, to urge the reader to think critically about the events set in motion. In this, she succeeds admirably.

Written in first person perspective, the plot of the story evolves through the eyes of Cassie Logan, a young African American girl growing up surrounded by a loving family, headed most days by her mother and her grandmother (whom she calls Big Ma) and including three brothers—Stacey, Little Man, and Christo-

pher-John. David Logan, the family patriarch, has been forced to work far from home, laying railroad track to earn the money that will provide for the family. The absence of a beloved and respected father is another trial imposed on the family by the Depression.

When the story opens, Cassie awakes to a gray and misty morning and stumbles downstairs to greet her family. Cassie and her brothers set out to see to their chores on the family farm, but not before Cassie overhears her mother and Big Ma talking about a troubling shortage of money and supplies, including Mama’s medicine. Cassie is shooed out the door and is soon running and playing with her brothers, darting amongst the majestic trees.

Taylor paints Cassie’s communion with the trees in such detail that the reader can feel Cassie’s sense of home amongst the tall sentinels.

You can’t, you can’t, you can’t catch me, I taunted, dodging from one beloved tree to the next. Around shaggy-bark hickories and sharp-needled pines, past blue-gray beeches and sturdy black walnuts I sailed while my laughter resounded through the ancient forest, filling every chink. (p. 16)

The beauty of Taylor’s language shines through passages such as these.

However, the children’s revelry is soon cut short as they realize that many of these trees are scarred by large white Xs on the trunk. Hearing rustling amongst the leaves, Stacey urges his siblings into hiding as two white men come into view. The children listen as the men, Tom and Mr. Andersen, discuss the clearing of the forest. Mr. Andersen, in particular, seems to know the Logan family, noting callously that they are in no financial position to turn down his lowball offer for the clearing of their trees and talking dismissively about David Logan. When Tom suggests that David won’t stand for Mr. Andersen’s interference, Taylor’s dialogue is a chilling representation of the prejudice and real dangers African Americans faced at this time. The differential power dynamic is bleakly summed up in this exchange.

“Mr. Andersen . . .” Tom hesitated a moment, looked up at the silent trees, then back at Mr. Andersen. “Maybe you should go easy on them,” he cautioned. “You know that David can be as mean as on ole jackass when he wanna be. . . .”

Mr. Andersen looked uneasy. “What’s that gotta do with anything?”

“Well, he just don’t take much to any dealings with white folks.” Again, Tom looked up at the trees. “He isn’t afraid like some.”

Mr. Andersen laughed weakly. “Don’t worry ‘bout that, Tom. The land belongs to his mama. He don’t have no say in it. Besides, I guess I oughta know how to handle David Logan. After all, there are ways . . .” (p. 22)

By portraying the children overhearing this menacing conversation while shielded only by a thin veil of leaves, Taylor allows her readers to feel and fear for their innocence and vulnerability.

As the story progresses, Mr. Andersen tries to intimidate the women of the Logan family into selling the family forest for a mere sixty-five dollars. Not knowing where else to turn, Cassie's mother sends Stacey off on the family horse to retrieve David. The action shifts when six-year-old Little Man, upset about the damage done to his family's land, whacks Mr. Andersen in the leg (hard) with a tree branch. Mr. Andersen and the loggers detain Little Man, Cassie, and Christopher-John, and Mr. Andersen decides the children could use some discipline. He takes off his belt and has dealt the first biting lash to Cassie's bare legs when David Logan appears.

David forces Andersen to release the children, and then forces his hand. Stacey and David had buried dynamite amongst the trees, and David tells Andersen that unless he and his men immediately vacate his land, he'll blow them all to kingdom come. When Andersen attempts to call his bluff, David replies, "One thing you can't seem to understand, Andersen . . . is that a black man's always gotta be ready to die. And it don't make me any difference if I die today or tomorrow. Just as long as I die right" (p. 44). Mr. Andersen and his men reluctantly leave the property, but not before Andersen makes vague threats about accidents that could happen to David down the road.

Taylor's powerful prose makes it possible for the reader to understand that although David has managed to temporarily shift the power dynamics through desperate actions, the respite is brief, at best. The novel ends with David, a kindred spirit to his daughter Cassie, looking up at the trees.

"Dear, dear old trees," I heard him call softly, "will you ever sing again?"

I waited. But the trees gave no answer. (p. 48)

The inspired narrative of *Song of the Trees*, complemented by Jerry Pinkney's stark pencil shaded illustrations, was a preview of the powerful storytelling that became a hallmark of Mildred D. Taylor's celebrated career.

A Summer to Die

BY LOIS LOWRY

150 pages. Random House Children's Books, 1977.

(Ages 10–13)

Author's Awards: Newbery Medal, 1990, 1994; Margaret A. Edwards Award for Lifetime Contribution to Young Adult Literature, National Jewish Book Award, Boston Globe-Horn Book Award, 1987, 1993; International Reading Association Children's Book Award; Parents' Choice Gold; International Board on Books for Young People Honor List

Lois Lowry enjoys a long and illustrious career in Young Adult literature. Her novels have been essential to the middle school English Language Arts booklist, with *Number the Stars* and *The Giver* among the favorites of teachers and students. In the beginning was a book close to the author's heart—*A Summer to Die*.

This page-turning first novel deals with the difficult and painful loss of a sibling, an experience that Lowry, knows well, having lost her older sister, Helen, when they were both too

young. The novel treats life and death honestly, contrasting the pain of loss with glimpses of life's surprising moments of joy, even in the midst of tragedy.

In Lowry's first book, the reader comes to know Meg, the younger sister of Molly, and the daughter of two loving parents. Whereas Molly is beautiful and popular at school, Meg often feels like the odd duck. She is too keenly aware that people don't regard her the way they regard Molly and often finds herself enthralled with her sister's outer beauty. Lowry describes the awe of a younger sibling in this passage:

[E]very now and then I glance at her and see her as if she were a stranger. One night recently she was sitting in front of the fire doing her homework, and I looked over because I wanted to ask her a question about negative numbers. The light from the fire was on her face, all gold, and her blond hair was falling down across her forehead and in waves around her cheeks and onto her shoulders. For a second she looked just like a picture on a Christmas card we had gotten from friends in Boston; it was almost eerie . . . Then she saw me watching her, and stuck her tongue out, so that she was just Molly again, and familiar. (p. 19)

Additionally, Molly is easy in a way that Meg is not—quick to laugh, slow to get angry, eager and enthusiastic about even the most mundane things. Lowry paints a picture of someone who is easy to love, and as a reader, one can understand how this can cause Meg to live in a perpetual state of feeling like "the other one."

Life changes, however, when Meg and Molly's father, a college professor decides to temporarily relocate the family to a house in the country so he can finish his book. Meg instantly takes to the place, making friends with Will Banks, the seventy-year-old neighbor as well as a young, free spirited couple expecting their first child. A talented photographer, Meg improves her craft, and her father builds her a darkroom of her own.

The difficulty for Meg is Molly, who is sick most of the year and subject to nosebleeds. She is worn down and ill-tempered, not like herself. One night after the sisters squabble, Meg awakens to Molly asking for help. Her hair, face, and clothes are covered with blood. Meg runs to her parents' room: "'Something's wrong,' I told them. 'Something's wrong with Molly'" (p. 54).

From this moment, Lowry skillfully weaves the tale of a family dealing with a beloved member's serious illness—the sadness, worry, and fatigue. However, what Lowry is most adept at is sprinkling in small perfect moments of joy, including the time when the family, often solemn and tense, find themselves having an impromptu dance party in their living room. Or the moment where Meg photographs the birth of the child of the young couple down the road, an experience she recounts to Molly the last time she sees her alive. Lowry, having gone through an experience similar to Meg's loss of her sister, does not spare the reader the pain of Molly's death. However, she sensitively makes the point that life, with all its beauty, goes on, even after the worst moments. She writes, in Meg's voice:

Time goes on, and your life is still there, and you have to live it. After a while you remember the good things more often than the bad. Then, gradually, the empty silent parts of you fill up with sounds of talking and laughter again, and the jagged edges of sadness are softened by memories.

Nothing will be the same, ever, without Molly. But there's a whole world waiting, still, and there are good things in it. (p. 136)

With an authentic and sympathetic voice, Lowry invites the reader to feel empathy for Meg, Molly, and their family. Not to pity them, but to understand them with all their talents, virtues, and limitations. This attention to real and honest emotion hints at the complexity of feelings Lowry is able to capture in her later novels. *A Summer to Die* was her first novel in her distinguished career, and it still stands the test of time.

We hope that the teachers and parents who first read these books in their earlier years and the children they now nurture will find in them "a certain eternal and irrepressible freshness" (Pound, 1960, p. 26).

References

- Ezra Jack Keats Foundation. *The official website of the Ezra Jack Keats Foundation*. Retrieved from <http://www.ezra-jack-keats.org>.
- Neumeyer, P. F. (1994). *The annotated Charlotte's Web*. New York, New York: HarperCollins Publishers.
- Pound, Ezra. (1960). *The abc of reading*. New York, NY: New Dimensions Publishing.
- Rickards, D., & Hawes, S. (2006). Connecting reading and writing through author's craft. *The Reading Teacher*, 60(4), 370–373.
- Scholastic. Teachers. Retrieved from: <http://www.scholastic.com/teachers/contributor/e-b-white>.

Subscription Rates for the *Journal of Education* 2012–2013

Boston University School of Education

Subscription Type	Print Only	Print/Online	Online Only
Single Article			\$7.00
Single Issue			\$12.00
Student – 1 year			\$30.00
Student – 1 year	\$35.00		
Student – 1 year		\$45.00	
Student – 2 year			\$55.00
Student – 2 year	\$60.00		
Student – 2 year		\$75.00	
United States – Single Issue	\$15.00		
United States – Single Issue		\$25.00	
United States – Individual – 1 year			\$35.00
United States – Individual – 1 year	\$45.00		
United States – Individual – 1 year		\$55.00	
United States – Individual – 2 year			\$65.00
United States – Individual – 2 year	\$82.00		
United States – Individual – 2 year		\$95.00	
United States – Institution – 1 year			\$207.00
United States – Institution – 1 year	\$55.00		
United States – Institution – 1 year		\$225.00	
United States – Institution – 2 year			\$345.00
United States – Institution – 2 year	\$85.00		
United States – Institution – 2 year		\$375.00	
Canada/Mexico – Single Issue	\$19.00		
Canada/Mexico – Single Issue		\$27.00	
Canada/Mexico – Individual – 1 year			\$35.00
Canada/Mexico – Individual – 1 year	\$59.00		
Canada/Mexico – Individual – 1 year		\$70.00	
Canada/Mexico – Individual – 2 year			\$65.00
Canada/Mexico – Individual – 2 year	\$90.00		
Canada/Mexico – Individual – 2 year		\$130.00	
Canada/Mexico – Institution – 1 year			\$207.00
Canada/Mexico – Institution – 1 year	\$70.00		
Canada/Mexico – Institution – 1 year		\$240.00	
Canada/Mexico – Institution – 2 year			\$345.00
Canada/Mexico – Institution – 2 year	\$110.00		
Canada/Mexico – Institution – 2 year		\$405.00	

ORDER BY PHONE, E-MAIL, OR ONLINE:

Phone: (617) 353-3230

E-mail: bujed@bu.edu

Online: www.bu.edu/journalofeducation/

Subscription Type	Print Only	Print/Online	Online Only
All Other Countries – Single Issue	\$21.00		
All Other Countries – Single Issue		\$30.00	
All Other Countries – Individual – 1 year			\$35.00
All Other Countries – Individual – 1 year	\$63.00		
All Other Countries – Individual – 1 year		\$85.00	
All Other Countries – Individual – 2 year			\$65.00
All Other Countries – Individual – 2 year	\$110.00		
All Other Countries – Individual – 2 year		\$150.00	
All Other Countries – Institution – 1 year			\$207.00
All Other Countries – Institution – 1 year	\$73.00		
All Other Countries – Institution – 1 year		\$270.00	
All Other Countries – Institution – 2 year			\$345.00
All Other Countries – Institution – 2 year	\$116.00		
All Other Countries – Institution – 2 year		\$510.00	

Please complete the following form and mail it to the *Journal of Education*.

RECIPIENT

Name: _____

Address: _____

City / Town: _____ State: _____

Zip Code: _____ Country: _____

Home phone: _____

Cell phone: _____

E-mail address: _____

BILLING INFORMATION

☐ Enclose a check or money order payable to: *Journal of Education*

☐ Request a bill

☐ Gift subscription: Provide the recipient's information above, enclose the payment or request a bill

MAIL THIS FORM TO: *Journal of Education*

Boston University
School of Education
Two Silber Way
Boston, MA 0221

GUIDELINES FOR AUTHORS

The mission of the *Journal of Education* is to disseminate knowledge in the service of practice and to expedite the integration of research, theory, and practice in education. Researchers, scholars, teachers, administrators, specialists, and advanced graduate students are invited to submit manuscripts. Three types of articles will be considered: Reports of original research, explications of theory, and reflections on education. Each manuscript should inform the education of PK–12 learners, or pre-service and in-service teachers and other professionals in the field. The manuscript must include a discussion of implications for practice in the broader field of education (i.e., beyond the particular educational setting in which the work was conducted).

Reports of Original Research should include a review of the relevant literature, a description of the methodology, a summary of the findings, and a discussion of implications for practice in the broader field of education (i.e., beyond the particular educational setting in which the study was conducted).

Explications of Theory should begin with a clear explanation of a theory that informs practice, a description of the historical context, and a justification based on the literature. The paper should conclude with implications for practice in the broader field of education (i.e., beyond the particular educational setting in which the theory was developed).

Reflections by scholars and professionals who are informed observers of education in classrooms and schools should provide critical analysis and insights regarding effective practice. Experienced researchers may offer an historic analysis of a significant topic of inquiry and the effects on the field, as well as insights into implications for practice in the broader field of education. Occasionally, distinguished scholars selected by the Editor or the Dean of the School of Education, in consultation with the Editor, will be invited to write reflections.

MANUSCRIPT SUBMISSION

The manuscript should be submitted as an attachment in electronic form in Microsoft Word format to: bujed@bu.edu. The text should be approximately 25 pages long, double spaced, in 12 pt. Times New Roman typeface, and introduced with a 100-word abstract. There should be a one-inch margin on all sides of an 8½ × 11-inch page. The manuscript should conform to the style specifications of the American Psychological Association. The *Concise Rules of APA Style, Sixth Edition*, published by the Association in 2009, is the recommended source.

Consistent with the policy of blind review, the author(s)' name(s) should be listed only on a cover sheet that will be removed before the manuscript is sent to the reviewers. The cover sheet should include: the author(s)' name(s) and institutional affiliation(s), the first author's mailing address, telephone number, and e-mail address. Acknowledgment of cooperating scholars or professionals and funding sources should be added to the end of the manuscript. The first author will receive a notice of receipt of the manuscript within two weeks and the reviewers' response within three months. Four types of decisions are made: Accept as submitted, Accept with revisions, Revise and resubmit, or Not accepted. Upon acceptance, the author(s) will be expected to agree to assign the rights to the copyright to the *Journal of Education* with the author(s) retaining broad duplication and distribution rights for teaching and related educational uses.

CRITERIA

All manuscripts will be judged on the significance of the content, the inclusion of a valid discussion of implications for practice in the broader field of education, and the clarity and cohesion of the text.

Reports of Original Research will be judged, as well, on the significance of the inquiry, the rigor of the methodology, the validity of the findings and the implications. These articles may include a minimum number of clear effective tables and/or figures placed at the end of the text.

Explications of Theory will be judged, as well, on the significance of the theory, the clarity of the explication, the quality of the justification, and the validity of the implications.

Reflections will be judged, as well, on the quality of the critical analysis and reflections, and the validity of the implications.

For additional information, please contact:

Roselmina (Lee) Indrisano, Editor
Journal of Education
Boston University School of Education
Two Silber Way
Boston, MA 02215
E-mail address: leeindri@bu.edu.

CALL FOR PAPERS: EARLY CAREER SCHOLARS ISSUE

Volume 194, Number 2 will feature articles by scholars who are in the early years of their academic/professional careers. Manuscripts should be submitted by November 1, 2013.

The mission of the *Journal of Education* is to disseminate knowledge in the service of practice and to expedite the integration of research, theory, and practice in education. Researchers, scholars, teachers, administrators, specialists, and advanced graduate students are invited to submit manuscripts. Three types of articles will be considered: Reports of original research, explications of theory, and reflections on education. Each manuscript should inform the education of PK–12 learners, or pre-service and in-service teachers and other professionals in the field. The manuscript must include a discussion of implications for practice in the broader field of education (i.e., beyond the particular educational setting in which the work was conducted).

Reports of Original Research should include a review of the relevant literature, a description of the methodology, a summary of the findings, and a discussion of implications for practice in the broader field of education (i.e., beyond the particular educational setting in which the work was conducted).

Explications of Theory should begin with a clear explanation of a theory that informs practice, a description of the historical context, and a justification based on the literature. The manuscript must include a discussion of implications for practice in the broader field of education (i.e., beyond the particular educational setting in which the work was conducted).

Reflections by scholars and professionals who are informed observers of education in classrooms and schools should provide critical analysis and insights regarding effective practice. Experienced researchers may offer an historic analysis of a significant topic of inquiry and the effects on the field, as well as insights into implications for practice in the broader field of education (i.e., beyond the particular educational setting in which the work was conducted).

MANUSCRIPT SUBMISSION

The manuscript should be submitted as an attachment in electronic form in Microsoft Word format to: bujed@bu.edu. The text should be approximately 25 pages long, double spaced, in 12 pt. Times New Roman typeface, and introduced with a 100-word abstract. There should be a one-inch margin on all sides of an 8½ × 11-inch page. The manuscript should conform to the style specifications of the American Psychological Association. The *Concise Rules of APA Style, Sixth Edition*, published by the Association in 2009, is the recommended source.

Consistent with the policy of blind review, the author(s)' name(s) should be listed only on a cover sheet that will be removed before the manuscript is sent to the reviewers. The cover sheet should include: the author(s)' name(s) and institutional affiliation(s), the first author's mailing address, telephone number, and e-mail address. Acknowledgment of cooperating scholars or professionals and funding sources should be added to the end of the manuscript. The first author will receive a notice of receipt of the manuscript within two weeks and the reviewers' response within three months. Four types of decisions are made: Accept as submitted, Accept with revisions, Revise and resubmit, or Not accepted. Upon acceptance, the authors will be expected to agree to assign the rights to the copyright to the *Journal of Education* with the authors retaining broad duplication and distribution rights for teaching and related educational uses.

CRITERIA

All manuscripts will be judged on the significance of the content, the inclusion of a valid discussion of implications for practice in the broader field of education, and the clarity and cohesion of the text.

Reports of Original Research will be judged, as well, on the significance of the inquiry, the rigor of the methodology, the validity of the findings and the implications. These articles may include a minimum number of clear effective tables and/or figures placed at the end of the text.

Explications of Theory will be judged, as well, on the significance of the theory, the clarity of the explication, the quality of the justification, and the validity of the implications.

Reflections will be judged, as well, on the quality of the critical analysis and reflections, and the validity of the implications.

For additional information, please contact:

Roselmina (Lee) Indrisano, Editor

Journal of Education

Boston University School of Education

Two Silber Way

Boston, MA 02215

E-mail address: leeindri@bu.edu.

Journal of Education

Editorial Review Board

2013

Robert Bain, University of Michigan
Marilyn Cochran-Smith, Boston College
Julie Coiro, University of Rhode Island
Donald D. Deshler, The University of Kansas
James Paul Gee, Arizona State University
Celia Genishi, Teachers College, Columbia University
Thomas Hehir, Harvard Graduate School of Education
Robert Jiménez, Vanderbilt University
Carolyn J. Kelley, University of Wisconsin-Madison
Kevin Koziol, Prince William County Public Schools
Linda L. Kucan, University of Pittsburgh
Diane Lapp, San Diego State University
Alan H. Schoenfeld, University of California, Berkeley
Alfred Tatum, University of Illinois at Chicago
Christine Yeh, University of San Francisco

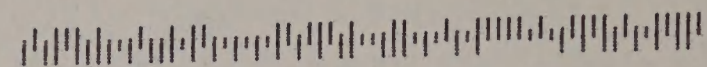
Journal of Education

Boston University School of Education

Two Silber Way

Boston, MA 02215

NONPROFIT
ORGANIZATION
U.S. POSTAGE
PAID
BOSTON, MA
PERMIT NO. 1839



MARYGROVE COLLEGE
LIBRARY SERVICES
8425 W MCNICHOLS RD
DETROIT MI 48221-2546

BOSTON
UNIVERSITY